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The Old House, Annapolis

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

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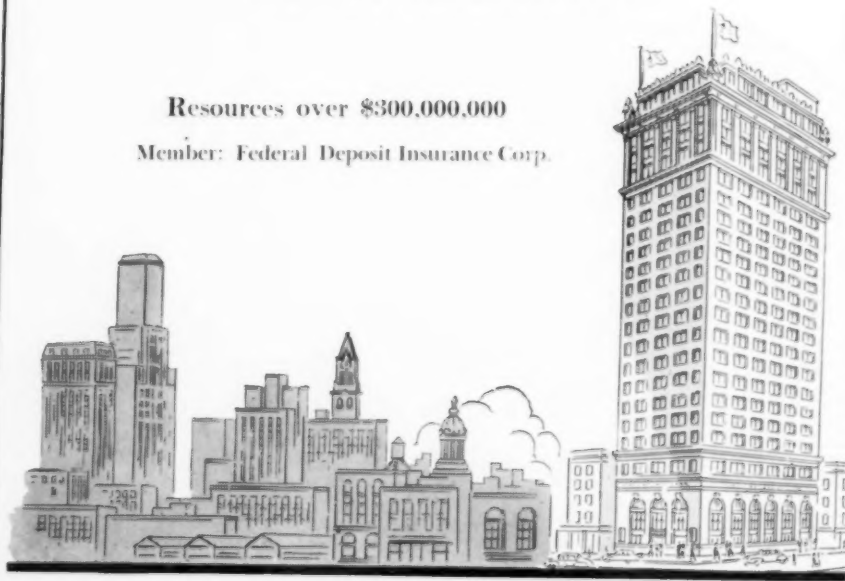
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLIX, No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1954

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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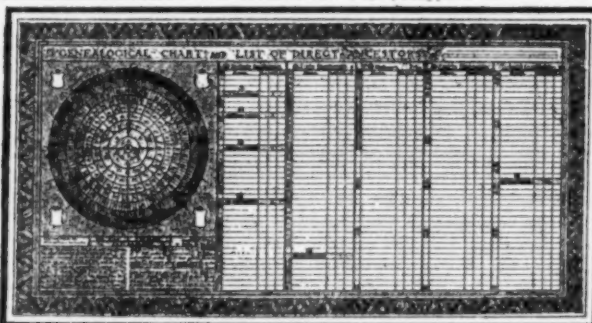
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Number 3

THE CHASE HOUSE IN ANNAPOLIS

By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

PROBABLY no other house in Maryland, and few in America, has had as much admiration or as much public notice as the Chase house in Annapolis.¹ The admiration has resulted in many excellent descriptions by architects and historians, but until the rich store of Lloyd papers was deposited at the Maryland Historical Society a few years ago not one of the writers was cognizant of exact dates, builders, and personalities. Two eminent scholars had opportunity in recent years to clear up a few details of the construction of the house by previews of one or two items in the collection.² This paper can claim only the distinction of fitting together many pieces in a jig-saw puzzle. Because of confusion

¹ Most source material used in this article is from the Lloyd Family Papers recently placed on loan at the Maryland Historical Society by Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller and Mrs. Thomas Hughes to whom gratitude is due.

² J. Donnell Tilghman, "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 23-26, and James Bordley, Jr., "New Light on William Buckland," *ibid.*, XLVI (1951), 153-154.

among the several Edward Lloyds and the early and late ownership of the house by Chases, errors have crept into books which can now be dispelled by the clear authority of the business ledgers of Edward Lloyd IV of "Wye," Talbot County.

It has long been a matter of record that Samuel Chase, one of the most vigorous and colorful of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, bought Lot No. 107 in the flourishing city of Annapolis from Denton Hammond in the year 1769³ and started to build a residence. In 1771 he gave up the project and sold out to Edward Lloyd of Wye for £504.8.2 sterling plus £2491.17.7 Maryland currency what had cost him a mere £100.⁴ Early writers assumed, therefore, that all or most of the house had been built. The Tilghman article subsequently showed that Lloyd had kept a very exact account of what work had been finished and what was owed Chase for it. There is mention of basement, brick walls, flooring, brick shed with chimney, a well, and some unfinished carved modillions. There is no mention of roof or roofing. Chase had imported a man named Scott from England to supervise and perhaps design his work and Allen Quynn, one of the better known merchants of Annapolis, for "over looking" the building at £30.

Samuel Chase was in 1769 only 28 years of age and had married Ann Baldwin of an old Anne Arundel County family. He is spoken of as a poor and self-made man: poor in comparison to the great legal families of Dulanys and Carrolls as well as to his cousin Jeremiah Townley Chase, for he was the son of a clergyman who had married no fortune; and self-made only in the sense that he had already reached a high place in the legal profession by his own ability. His education was entirely local. He had enthusiastically embraced the cause of the colonies; had been elected to the Assembly four years prior to his house building; and was generally a thorn in the flesh of the self-indulgent, polished "Court Circle." This six-foot, ruddy-faced patriot was "adept at raising the mob," a master of invective eloquence and too outspoken for his own good. However, everyone knew that Sam Chase was ambitious and, as Joshua Johnson put it, "The Lord Baltimore is dead. . . . I do suppose it will make a little confusion

³ Anne Arundel County Land Records, IB & JB 1, f. 374, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁴ Provincial Court Deeds, DD 5, f. 259, Land Office, Annapolis.

amongst the Court party with you and that you will have a number of new candidates for perferment amongst which I suppose S. Chase is one of the foremost." ⁵ Lack of money was undoubtedly the cause of Chase's giving up his daring plan to own a house second only to that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Edward Lloyd, the purchaser of Samuel Chase's unfinished house, did not have to worry about money matters. He came of a long line of wealthy landowners, favored by positions under the Proprietor, and endowed with good business sense. It is unfortunate that in the great collection of Lloyd memorabilia there is so little by which to judge the family save business papers. There is no doubt that the men of succeeding generations were men of keen public spirit, of education and taste. They married into families of the same type. The first Lloyd came up from Virginia with the Puritans ejected from that colony and welcomed by Lord Baltimore. This was in 1650 and four more generations had added thousands of acres to the original holdings, not only in Talbot and Queen Anne's counties but on the Western Shore as well. The fertility of his plantations and their good management put Colonel Edward Lloyd III among the wealthiest men in the Colonies. Since he was a member of the Governor's Council for a matter of 27 years he had owned or rented a house in Annapolis to which he with his wife, Anne Rousby, the daughter and heiress of Colonel John Rousby of "Rousby Hall," Calvert County, repaired for the business and gayety of the winter months.⁶ Philemon Lloyd, "The Secretary" his great-uncle, had a dwelling between Hanover and King George Sts., in the capital city as early as 1709, and Edward's aunt, Henrietta Maria Dulany, lived in a mansion which once stood near the present site of the Armory in the Naval Academy. So the Lloyd family's comings and goings from Wye to Annapolis were always part of the scene of that most sophisticated town. Because of the many rivers and inlets as well as the Bay itself that had to be crossed, travel was by water and the Lloyds made use of sail when the wind was favorable or were rowed in a great barge manned by slaves in livery.

⁵ Wallace, Davidson, & Johnson Letterbooks, I, 33, Nov. 6, 1771, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶ Rebecca Lloyd Post Shippen, "The Lloyds of 'Wye House,'" *Maryland Original Research Society Bulletin*, I (1906), 11-17; McHenry Howard, "Lloyd Graveyard at Wye House," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII (1922), 20-33, and McHenry Howard, "Wye House, Talbot County," *ibid.*, XVIII (1923), 293-299.

Colonel Lloyd survived his wife by only a year and left a will made many years earlier bequeathing a large fortune to his three surviving children. The father had carefully arranged by will for his son to be educated in England—"send my son home to England for the study of law that he would be proficient to some degree in that Honorable Profession"—but there is no proof that he had carried out this early desire.⁷ Edward Lloyd IV was 26 when he became administrator of the enormous combined fortunes of his father and mother, as well as the inheritor of a long conflict over the estate of his great-uncle, Richard Bennett. He had married, November 19, 1767, Elizabeth Tayloe, daughter of Colonel John Tayloe of "Mount Airy," Richmond County, Virginia, and was in 1770 the father of the first of his six daughters. One of the first items in the Lloyd papers to do with this estate is the list of furnishings of a large house, dated 1770 and loose in the back of a ledger marked as the estate book. There is no way of telling whether this is an inventory of Wye House or of one in Annapolis. Another item is a list of all the estate articles, both furniture and clothing not desired by the family, to be sold at Vendue, or public sale. This Vendue must have been quite an event in the racing season of Annapolis for it took place September 26, 1771, at "the Race Grounds" and the servant man at Middleton's Hotel was paid 6 shillings, 3 pence, "for his beating the Drum Tunes round Town," which sum he received in the equal value of a pair of shoes. William Faris, the loquacious silversmith, bought a chafing dish; Dr. Upton Scott made purchases; and William Buckland appears to have bought "sundries to the value of £7;14;8-½." Many of the goods displayed were noted as "badly Rat Eaten," but William Goldsmith found wares sufficiently attractive to satisfy his account against the estate for the use of his "Booth and Toddy" for the auction.

In 1771 when Edward Lloyd IV was elected to represent Talbot County in the Assembly he was obliged to look around for a suitable city home for his growing family. It was then he saw the possibilities of Samuel Chase's unfinished mansion and bought it. The news spread rapidly and was considered important enough to be relayed to England by Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

⁷ Anne Arundel County Wills, J. G. 2 (37), f. 469, (probated March 2, 1770), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Colonel Lloyd has purchased Chase's house[;] it has cost ye colonel upwards of £3000 cur[renc]y: and I really think when the offices are finished and the house compleatly furnished it will cost him £6000 more. You are as good a Judge as myself whether ye colonel has acted prudently in buying this house; it is however agreed on all hands that Chase has acted very wisely in selling it: he has got rid of an encumbrance which must have ruined him at ye long run: the money received of Lloyd will extricate him from all difficulties[;] he is now independent, and may if he pleases continue so and become more serviceable to the Public.⁸

And that inveterate letter writer, old Charles, the father, could not resist a dig at a rival son, "Were Loyd my son I should not like His sinking £10,000 in a House."⁹

The house was definitely too large for its one acre lot so Matthias Hammond was persuaded to exchange his lot No. 90 adjacent to it for lots 92 and 105 which Lloyd had previously bought of Thomas Bordley and which were now useless to him. Hammond had ambitions for building a large house for himself and eventually owned four city lots, of which Lloyd's two formed his garden.¹⁰ The only stipulation of this sale other than Hammond's additional £100 was that Lloyd was entitled to all rights "except the Liberty of Removing off said Lott the Susquohannah Stone now lying thereon intended for the new building."¹¹ Granite was the favored stone in Maryland, coming as it did from the quarries at Havre de Grace by boat. It is possible that Hammond was assembling material for his new home still two years in the future, but it is more than likely that it was for the foundation of the new "public building" as it was generally called at that time, the State House. This lot at the corner of Prince George Street was a block from the State House hill and would have been the only vacant spot upon which to store building supplies.

Exact dating is difficult due to the length of time required to settle accounts with any individual, but about this time Lloyd came in contact with the man he wanted to finish his mansion. Lloyd may have had him come up from Virginia to talk over the plans for there is an expense account for £3 paid William Buckland "for expense of Self and Horse when I purchased New House."

⁸ Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, Barrister, Aug. 9, 1771, Carroll Letterbook (1770-1774), Md. Hist. Soc.

⁹ Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Aug. 16, 1771, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII (1918), 264.

¹⁰ Anne Arundel Co. Deeds, JB No. 3, f. 405.

¹¹ Provincial Court Deeds, *op. cit.*, f. 351, Land Office, Annapolis.

For fifteen years Buckland, master builder, designer, and carver had practiced his profession in Richmond County, Virginia, and was well known to the Tayloes of Mount Airy.¹² Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd and her husband would quite naturally have turned to him for advice even if he had not been at this particular moment the fashionable architect of Annapolis. Recently a court record has come to light wherein William Buckland of Anne Arundel County is called in as a professional witness and spoken of as "architect."¹³ The Lloyd ledgers show that for the years 1771 and 1772 William Buckland was indeed in complete charge of the work on the Lloyds' city house. During this period he not only drew a salary, but he contracted bills for the supply of bricks, 100,000 of them from one man, 2,800 from another; 44,425 18-inch shingles; "by Joseph Dashiell for 2,258 foot inch planks furnished Mr. Buckland 6th April 1772"; as well as for lime, hair and sheet lead. These items indicate that Buckland's training and experience were being used to full capacity. At any rate, Buckland worked on roof, flooring, and other fundamentals of the house for two years and after that on its refinement. After January, 1773, his accounts were solely for carved work and for "1 month and 20 days wages from 30th August 1773 till the 10th November following at 60 £Sterlg 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ PC—£287.4" Apparently, Buckland no longer was overseer after 1772 for the very good reason that he was up to his neck with other commitments. By 1773 Matthias Hammond had started his house directly across the street from Edward Lloyd's. The new State House was well under construction, the Brices, the Ogles, Dr. Scott, and perhaps the Ridouts were dressing up the interiors of earlier built houses. William Paca lent his neighbor, Lloyd, 500 weight of stucco left from the trim of his drawing-room. The town was expanding with its rapidly increasing wealth and Buckland's skill was in great demand.

Late in the year 1772 there enters into the history of the Lloyd house a new character, one William Noke, who is given the title of "Esq." by Lloyd's bookkeeper. A year before Joshua Johnson, the London partner of Annapolis merchants, writing home had asked how the new store and warehouse was progressing. It is

¹² Rosamond R. Beirne, "William Buckland, Architect of Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946), 199.

¹³ Anne Arundel County Judgments, DG 1, f. 230, 482, Hall of Records, Annapolis.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE CHASE HOUSE

Drawn by T. Henry Randall for the Architectural Record, 1892,

possible that Charles Wallace, the senior partner, as was often the custom of the day, had this office and warehouse attached to his dwelling which was near the waterfront. "You tell me," he says, "the house eclips's even Chases' (now Lloyd's) pray tell me whether or not it is agreeable to Anderson's Plan or Noakes's. I wish your part was ready to open the goods in."¹⁴ Joseph Horatio Anderson was considered a first rate architect in Annapolis and Noke apparently had a reputation for drawing plans that were comparable. Noke had not long been a Marylander because the earliest record of him so far discovered is of his commission by Governor Eden as collector of Lord Baltimore's Quit Rents.¹⁵ Concurrent with this office he was also appointed Sheriff of Anne Arundel County from September 16, 1772, until December 18, 1776.¹⁶ His name appears through Chancery Court records and in that valuable social history, the account book of William Faris. We know he bought silver teaspoons of Faris and over a friendly "Toddy" borrowed six pounds to carry on some legal fray.¹⁷ Though admonished by the Assembly for not collecting license fees for ordinaries,¹⁸ he seems to have been trusted by two defenseless women in the settling of their business affairs. Noke acquired three tracts of land in the neighborhood of Annapolis; "Gaither's Intent" which he bought of Joseph Horatio Anderson and the seemingly infertile "The Stones" and "Drouth" of John Dodd, a total of 123 acres, all in the year 1774.¹⁹ He lived, however, in a rented house on the city dock.²⁰ Though his name appears in the settlement of an estate as late as 1778, it seems probable that Noke was a loyal British subject and that in the heat of controversy he betook himself back to England. There are no traces of him in tax lists, marriages, deaths or among those men who took the oath of allegiance. Two of his friends were definitely Tories; Elizabeth Molden who made "William Noke, Gent. her attorney to collect

¹⁴ Wallace, Davidson, & Johnson Letterbooks, I, p. 46, Dec. 28, 1771, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁵ Anne Arundel County Land Records, JB 3, f. 421, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁶ Commission Book (photostat), pp. 189, 193-194, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁷ William Faris' Account Books, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, LXIV, 52, 101.

¹⁹ Anne Arundel County Land Records, JB 4, f. 534; JB 5, f. 20, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁰ Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH 1, f. 51, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

sums due her as she is departing for Great Britain,"²¹ and William Waller for whom he stood bond with two others to the extent of £150 for Waller's appearance before the Council of Safety. Waller was accused of attempting to convey intelligence to Lord Dunmore but swore "he had been sitting up with Governor Eden at Colonel Fitzhugh's and had asked David Hunter of Calvert County to use his boat for a letter."²² A most suspicious evening! However this may be, William Noke was a gentleman active about the town, with some knowledge of drawing plans and of the supervision of building and late in 1772 he took over the work on Edward Lloyd's new house when William Buckland withdrew.

Here in the Lloyd account books is a heading for "Mr. William Noke, for New House at Annapolis," under which this entry appears: "By his wages [Noke's] from Nov. 1772—Oct. 1774 £191.13.4." There follow the accounts of the subcontractors for bricks, bricklaying, poplar, scaffolding, carpenters and joiners, and the decorative plaster work done by Rawlings and Barnes. These last two talented men had but lately arrived from London and were set up in Annapolis where "Gentlemen may be waited on with designs for Ceilings and Cornices on the shortest notice."²³ It is interesting to note that Edward Lloyd employed Rawlings & Barnes and bought his lumber from Joseph Dashiell of Somerset County some 14 years before General George Washington did the same when he built his banquet hall at Mount Vernon.²⁴

It is obvious that little but the roof and interior remained to be designed when Buckland, and later Noke, undertook the completion of Chase's original house. However, on the extra lot which extended to Prince George Street a very large stable and coach house was erected. This building was of brick, 90 by 10 feet with two wings, 36 by 20 each.²⁵ Here were rooms for house servants as well as stalls for the Lloyd string of horses when the Maryland Jockey Club was holding its Annapolis races. Horses were part of the life of the rich colonial gentleman, encouraged by the example of the Maryland governors. Great rivalry existed

²¹ Anne Arundel County Land Records, JB 5, f. 107, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²² *Archives of Maryland*, XI, 516 (June 25, 1776).

²³ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Feb. 14, 1771, p. 2, col. 2.

²⁴ Gerald W. Johnson and C. C. Wall, *Mount Vernon, The Story of A Shrine* (New York, 1953), pp. 102, 103, 112, 115.

²⁵ Anne Arundel Co. Tax List of 1798, Md. Hist. Soc.

between the Tayloes and Baylors of Virginia, the DeLancys of Philadelphia and a group of Marylanders, among whom were three generations of Edward Lloyds. Several horses were bought from the Tayloes; one bought of John Gibson, in 1779 was valued at £1000; two stud horses stood at Wye. The best known of the Lloyd horses, however, was the imported mare "Nancy Bywell," inherited by Edward Lloyd IV from his father and the only nag in Maryland to beat Fitzhugh's "Regulus" and De Lancy's mare "Lath." She won races in 1771, 1772, and 1773.²⁶ Oxford, Easton, and Chestertown as well as Annapolis were racing centers, and Lloyd was one of the men who revived the Jockey Club in 1783. A stable was an important adjunct to an estate in those days and there were many trips from Wye to the capital city in the big coach, ferried over the water route. Oats and nights' lodging figure in the Day Books. When this stable, years later was demolished and that part of the estate sold, the new Presbyterian church on Duke of Gloucester Street was built of its bricks.²⁷

Another large piece of construction which occupied Noke was "The Party Wall," the great brick boundary between the Lloyd lots and those of Benjamin Ogle. The two owners agreed to share the cost so that the £380 is carefully divided at the completion in 1774. The Wall stands 10 feet high, two bricks wide with bracing abutments and a coping and took 94,100 bricks bought of John Hammond who undoubtedly made them of his good red Anne Arundel clay. They were brought by boat from the Hammond place at the head of the Severn River. The coping took 4,200 special brick, while 2,030 bushels of lime, scaffolding, and many hours of laborers' time were used in this project. Since the house was essentially a city house on a city street the wall insured privacy on the Ogle side. The Northeast (now Maryland Avenue) Street side of the garden is protected from passing view by an ingenious mound of earth. Investigation of the cellar shows no signs of an opening in the foundation wall at this point such as might extend to a wine cellar. It seems to be a man-made bank extending from the side entrance of the house, paralleling the street and high enough above the heads of passers-by to conceal

²⁶ Francis B. Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922), 47, 63, 64, and *passim*.

²⁷ Peter H. Magruder, "Annapolis in Bygone Days," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 55 (June, 1929), 511.

the garden at the rear. There are items in the account book which show that a gardener was employed at Annapolis and because he had a large stone "rowler" cut for him the garden lawns must have been extensive. James Ayres, "Gardiner," put in 142 days work in the Spring of 1774 for £28.9 but bought less than two pounds worth of seeds and plants.

As Noke supervised work on the outside of the new house Buckland installed the carved chimney pieces, the cornices, the chair-rails, and the shutters. The work had been executed at his shop perhaps by the London carvers who time he boasted of owning, but it took nearly two months to get it all in place. Strangely enough, the dining room rather than the drawing room is the handsomest. Imported marble mantels are in both but it is in the dining room that Buckland gave full vent to his imagination and did his best work. The enframing of the mantel, the mouldings around the window frames, the elaborate chair rail unlike any other in America, with an almost four-inch projection from the wall, the elaborately carved panels of the inside shutters, make this one of the great Georgian rooms of America. The rich mahogany doors have an incised line of carved ornament in the center and are furnished with solid silver drop handles and escutcheons. The cornices are delicate and the festoons of ribbons, grapes, and roses, Greek fret, and scrolls highly elaborate. In this room the ornamented plaster ceiling is gone, victim of the wear and tear of time.

Rawlings & Barnes' ceiling is still in place in the drawing room across the entrance hall. It is of a conventional design and has not the delicacy of their later work. The woodwork of this parlor is demure compared to that of the great dining room. To be sure, it has a carved ornate marble mantel depicting Shakespeare being handed keys by the Goddess of Wisdom. At the rear of the house are two charming smaller rooms, the family sitting room and dining room. The latter, unfortunately, has had to exchange beauty for comfort and has been converted into the kitchen. One of Buckland's mantels and the delicate cornices are still in place in the other.

As the visitor enters by a high flight of steps to the front door, the white stoop and picket fence are much as they have always been. The door with its brass knocker and flanking Ionic pilasters

and windows, is wide and hospitable. The massiveness and severe simplicity of the exterior of the house, broken only by rubbed brick string-courses and classical cornice, does not prepare one for the beauty and refinement of detail of the interior. Unless other Lloyd ledgers be found no one will know whether Buckland or Noke is responsible for the beautiful cantilevered stairway that greets the eye from the door. This frames the great Palladian window which lights the hall, divides at a landing and continues to the unusual height of the second floor without visible means of support. Each step is formed of a solid block of wood supported by the wall and the step below. Ionic columns on either side of the stair at the cross hall add dignity to the approach. Since Buckland designed similar windows in other houses and because of the perfect proportions of the ensemble, it seems almost surely his work.

The second-story hall, also lighted by the Palladian window, is trimmed with all the elaborateness of a drawing-room. Curved niches for statuary flank the central bedroom door with its broken pediment. Arches cover the symmetrical side doors leading to corridors and other bedrooms. Refinement of detail in stair rail and moulding is everywhere apparent, while the cornice is varied from that of the hall below. There are two unusual features in this house both of practical value. A back stair ascends from first to third floor and this full third floor is in itself unique in Annapolis. The water view over the harbor which was so much desired is gained from the front rooms on both upper floors, thanks to the lower elevation of the Hammond-Harwood house across the street. This, the story goes, was a preconceived arrangement between the two young owners.

The massive 18-inch walls laid in Flemish bond with inimitable exactness to a hair line of mortar are supported by a stone foundation forming the cellar. The original kitchen must have been here in the large bright room under the dining room, with its enormous fireplace still intact, for the tax list of 1798, so careful to enumerate all the usual outbuildings, fails to mention any attachments to the Lloyd mansion but the stable.²⁸ Between the great chimneys in the cellar runs a vaulted ceiling laid in English bond. This was the wine cellar, the largest in Annapolis except

²⁸ Anne Arundel Co. Tax list of 1798, Md. Hist. Soc.



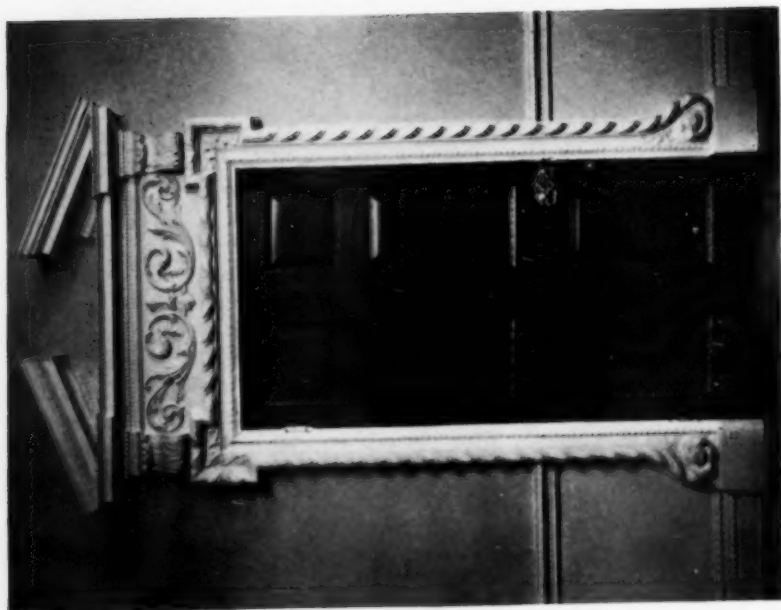
THE UPPER HALL



THE LOWER HALL

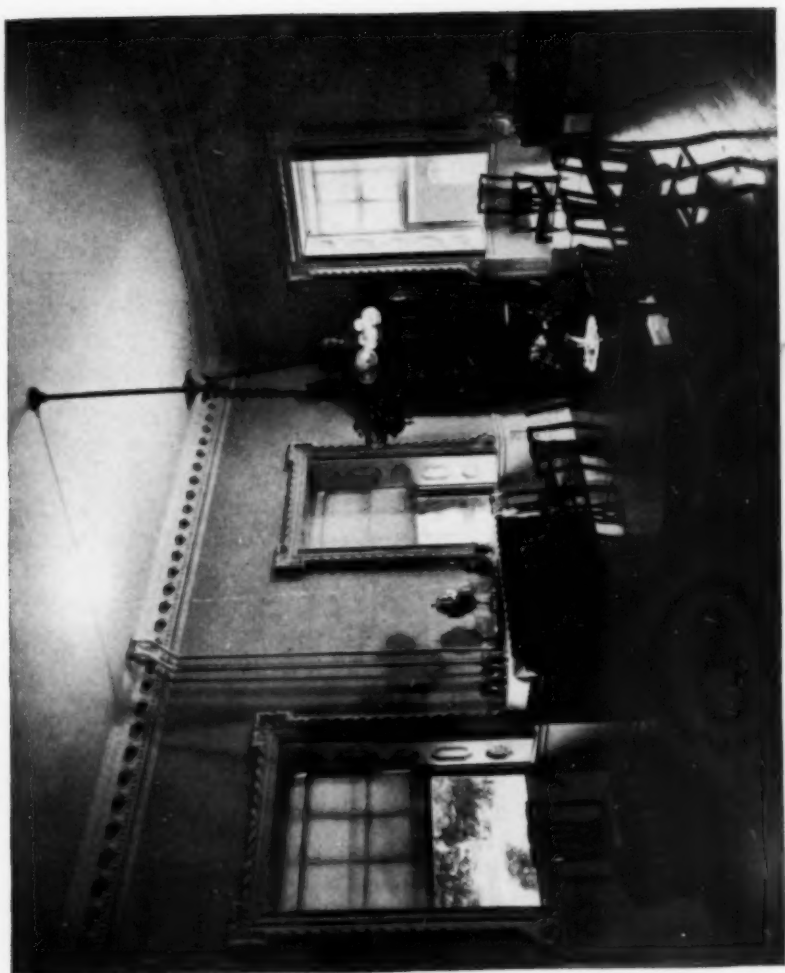


THE PALLADIAN WINDOW ON THE
STAIR LANDING



THE DOORWAY IN THE DINING ROOM

Photo, M. E. Warren, Annapolis



THE DINING ROOM

Photo, M. E. Warren, Annapolis



THE LLOYD FAMILY

EDWARD LLOYD, ELIZABETH TAYLOE LLOYD, AND THEIR DAUGHTER, ANNE.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale, 1771.

Courtesy Miss Elizabeth Lloyd Lowndes

for the Carrolls' and proof of the extent of the Lloyds' entertaining. Account books show the "swapping" of madeira and champagne with Charles Carroll of Carrollton and with Governor Eden. In fact, when the Lloyds were in winter residence the doors were continually open to official guests and a large family circle. One can picture a repast beginning with 22-½ quarts of turtle (terrapin?) prepared by George Mann at his hostelry, continuing through the epicurean delight of J. B. Bordley's Christmas Pie and topped off with several of the Colonel's rare vintages.²⁹ A list of wines imported by Edward Lloyd III in 1770 includes "Claret, Madeira, French Brandy, Konaack, Country Brandy, Geneva, Rum, Spezel Wine, Seveit Wine, Cordials."

It becomes obvious through the reading of tax lists that the brick kitchen and laundry (now a dwelling house) to the north and now attached by a strange enclosed passage, is of a later date and was probably used only as a summer kitchen. The two story porch on the south side of the house is a relatively recent addition likewise. This porch covers an attractive side entrance which like the garden entrance at the rear probably had only a small stoop. Indentations in the brick wall on either side of the side door indicate that more formal treatment was planned. Other changes have been the obliteration of a fireplace in the entrance hall and the necessary subdivision of some of the large bedrooms. It is extremely doubtful if the hall fireplace existed before the mid-19th century. The only early photograph shows it in all its hideous mid-Victorian embellishments, dark wood mantel shelf and mirror frame.³⁰ As none of the other chimney pieces were tampered with it is presumed that Miss Chase installed this in 1847 for her personal comfort, little thinking that it would someday lead to tragedy, and sometime following that tragedy it was eliminated.

As the completion of the house drew near Edward Lloyd IV began to justify the title given him by his descendants, "The Magnificent," as well as that given him by historians, "The

²⁹ John Beale Bordley to Edward Lloyd, Lloyd MSS, n. d. Quotes Glass's Book, p. 139 from memory: "A fat Swan, however old, is fine, as the whole Pie, when it be frozen and thawed several times, and is of sound standing. Our materials were, a Swan, a Turkey or two, a Goose, 2 to 4 Pullets, 4 Ducks, (sometimes Beef Steaks) etc. It is fortunate to have a cold Winter for freezing the Pie often, by which the old Swan, the Crust etc. are improved and made tender—the Crust short."

³⁰ T. Henry Randall, "Colonial Annapolis," *Architectural Record*, I (Jan.-Mar., 1892), 309.

Patriot." The break with England had not yet been made and the young planter was reaping rich harvests of tobacco and wheat, selling his crops through agents in the Mother Country and his pork, beef, and wool locally. In the confusing credit system of the day he received in return from abroad the luxuries which could not be supplied by American craftsmen, his fine wines, and his plantation equipment. So large was his private business, his rent collecting, his buying and selling for many large plantations, for his large family and for close to one thousand slaves, that he employed an agent in Annapolis as well as those in London. In the accounts of Arthur Bryan, the agent in Annapolis, we find several other payments to William Noke for work done off and on until the year 1776, but whether in Annapolis or on some plantation, we cannot tell. We find records of rebuilding the home site, Wye.³¹ Where Edward Lloyd entertained the Squire of Mount Vernon, October 8, 1772, during the Annapolis racing season, remains a mystery for the new house was not completed.³²

Difficult as it was for most of the wealthier colonists to determine their fate and fortunes, there was never a question as to which side Edward Lloyd would take. His brother, Richard Bennett Lloyd, had been educated and married in England and so sought and received a commission in the Coldstream Guards. Though he took no active part in the Revolution he was received with utter lack of enthusiasm by his friends in Annapolis when he returned after the war. His wife, however, a noted English beauty, was feted by natives and visitors alike and no doubt was the cause of much jealousy among her sex. Edward held a militia commission in Talbot County and was on the powerful Committees of Correspondence and Safety.³³ He seems to have been responsible for procuring "Iron ordnance," 6-pounders and smaller weapons from England because he explains to "the Honorable Convention of Maryland that the guns were more expensive than those procured by William Paca because the canon was procured from Great Britain in the heat of War." Because of his interest in agriculture and his position on the Eastern Shore much of his time was occupied with furnishing food and clothing for the

³¹ J. Donnell Tilghman, "Wye House," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVIII (June, 1953), 89-108.

³² J. C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Diaries of Washington* (New York, 1925), II, 82.

³³ Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 178-180.

Continental Army. Alarms were frequent in Maryland and his own Wye did not escape the bands of marauders always on the lookout for supplies for British ships.

Since the races and all forms of entertainment were forbidden and travel was dangerous the Lloyd family stayed close to Wye during these turbulent years. Colonel Lloyd was forced to attend meetings of the Assembly at Annapolis and later Continental Conventions. His 60-ton pleasure boat mounted guns and was used for business only, flying the Lloyd colors of azure and gold. There is an entry in a ledger showing that Lloyd lodged at Middleton's Inn while in Annapolis on official business. Such a trip in 1776 took him to dinner at a Club and resulted in his remembering Mrs. Lloyd with a pair of silk mitts. It was now that the dignity of his position required the use of a dress sword which he ordered of William Faris, who also engraved 20 coat buttons, perhaps with Lloyd crest.³⁴

The war over, Edward the Magnificent continued in the steps of his forebears. He had been defeated for Governor by Thomas Sim Lee but rose to the highest councils of his State, served in the Continental Congress, was a member of the Convention of 1788 which ratified the Constitution and entertained Lafayette in 1784 at his Annapolis house.³⁵ During these years of accumulated honors he also collected a family of six daughters and one son. Charles Wilson Peale had appeared at Wye in 1771 to paint the Lloyd portraits and depicted Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd at 21, a plump young matron strumming on a guitar. Edward has a strong, handsome face and the build of an athlete concealed by his maroon velvet coat. Between the parents sits their eldest child, Anne. Later in life Peale painted miniatures of the parents and portraits of other daughters as well as a parlor piece called "Venus rising from the Sea."³⁶ At Wye, too, was a library of 1,000 volumes, largely books on agriculture, though the classics and history are represented as well as architecture, the latter by Abraham Swan's *British Architect*. A fond father's solicitude for his children is shown in an order from England for eight tooth-

³⁴ Faris Account Book, Md. Hist. Soc.

³⁵ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1468, and Mrs. Shippen, "The Lloyds," *loc. cit.*

³⁶ Charles C. Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp. 128-130. Reference to "Venus rising from the Sea" is in Lloyd Account Book, Mar. 15, 1774.

brushes but for his son and heir he adds the solace of a toy gun. The bevy of Lloyd daughters all found suitable husbands, and it was in Annapolis that they apparently met their fates, for not one husband was an Eastern Shoreman. The most famous of the marriages which took place in their city home was that of the youngest daughter, Mary Tayloe, to Francis Scott Key, an aspiring young lawyer who had come to Annapolis for his education.

Though the old idea that good living induces gout has been exploded, it may have contributed to Edward Lloyd's chronic malady. He once ordered his coachmaker to see that his "chariot be easy for I am gouty man." He was among the early developers of Bath Town (Berkeley Springs) for he bought a lot there in 1778 where tidewater Virginians and Marylanders sought cures for their current ills. It was in a term of the State Senate that he wrote Governor George Plater, "The severe periodical paroxysms of gout at this season and business of a private nature prevents my giving that attendance in the Senate which it is my duty to do" and resigned his seat.⁸⁷

This was the last public action of Edward Lloyd IV. He died in 1796 leaving his widow to handle his vast estate, his seventeen year old heir and his future sons-in-law. Edward V, the future governor, lost no time in getting married for in 1797 he took a little neighbor as his bride. Sally Scott Murray was the daughter of Dr. James Murray of Prince George Street. Before he had made his choice, however, he attended a ball given at Bladensburg by his sister Mrs. Richard Tasker Lowndes, and a shrewd reporter, the beautiful Nellie Custis of Mount Vernon, wrote her friend Elizabeth Bordley, "I saw her sister Miss Loyd and her brother Edward—he is not yet eighteen and as great a fop as I have seen."⁸⁸ Perhaps his mother was in some way responsible for this impression and for making her only son ever conscious of the name he bore and his position in Maryland. She writes him from Annapolis, held in the city perhaps by an ill husband. The letter starts off with business arrangements which this youth of fourteen was to make and continues on with an admonition "not to be too violent in your politics. Remember you are a young man and have no vote. You may lose your own consequence by acting im-

⁸⁷ Edward Lloyd to George Plater, Nov. 19, 1788, Corner MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁸⁸ Eleanor Parke Custis to Miss Bordley, 1797, MSS collection, Mt. Vernon Ladies Assoc. of the Union.

properly. . . . I saw Coe and begged him to make your Regimentals of the best cloth and long to see you dressed in them. Hope you will look well. I never saw Charles Carroll look so ill in his. . . . Am grieved to think it will be so long before I see you for my Heart Doats on you fondly."³⁹

The boy's education in politics began early and he apparently had a flair for it. There is an unauthenticated story that he fought a duel with Robert Wright, later Governor and a political rival, over some local feud. Faris notes it in his diary as of September 24, 1794, and calls them "General Lloyd and Major Wright" and says Lloyd received two wounds and Wright one. At this time Edward Lloyd was fifteen years old and could hardly have been a General. But his gouty father may have been the duellist. However, two other historians have carried on the story, insisting that it was the Governor and even quote the conversation that went on between the antagonists and the child of Governor Wright who was acting as his second.⁴⁰ From all this fire it seems probable that the Lloyds were in the smoke of politics on the Eastern Shore, where none is hotter.

Edward V's career started with his election at 21 to the General Assembly and he seems to have been forced to spend more months in Annapolis than on his Wye estates as he was a member of the Assembly most of his adult life. The only breaks were three years as Governor and seven years in the United States Senate. It has been assumed that Lloyd lived in his own house during his term of office as Governor. This is most unlikely. The handsome Governor's mansion (on the present site of Bancroft Hall) was at his disposal and among the Lloyd papers is an inventory of that house. Two outstanding contributions to history were made by this Edward Lloyd—he was an advocate of universal suffrage which took courage in those days, and he was claimed by Richard Parkinson, the British agriculturist, to have the best managed and most productive farms that he saw in his visit to America.⁴¹

Governor Lloyd died at his mother-in-law's in Annapolis, of gout it is said, in 1834 at the age of 55. In 1826 he had sold his

³⁹ Elizabeth (Tayloe) Lloyd to Edward Lloyd, July, 1793, Lloyd MSS.

⁴⁰ W. O. Stevens, *Pistols at Ten Paces* (Boston, 1940), p. 80. H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 66.

⁴¹ Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America* . . . (London, 1805), I, 226-228. Tilghman, *Talbot County*, op. cit., I, 184-210.

own house to his son-in-law, Henry Hall Harwood, for \$6500.⁴² The house had been assessed in 1798 at £2570, the second highest assessment in the city.⁴³ Harwood dying in 1839 and his widow soon after, their children, Mrs. Tilton and Mrs. Ghiselin, put the house up for sale.

By this time the Lloyd fortune was on the wane and the family scattering. Land had become a liability and not an asset. Divided among so many children, little was left for daughters' dowers. Wye, the home plantation, descended always to the eldest son but that son began to know the meaning of the term "land poor." It so happened that in 1846 the venerable brick residence of Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase on King George Street was gutted by fire and that his daughter Miss Hester Ann Chase was in need of a residence that befitted her means and station in life. For the modest sum of \$5,000 the property changed hands and went out of the Lloyd family's history.⁴⁴ For 76 years it had belonged to the Lloyds but from 1847 to the present day it has been known as the Chase house.

A pen portrait of Miss Hester Ann Chase has been left us by young Isaac Van Bibber who was circling Maryland in an effort to raise funds for a new Episcopal church in Westminster:⁴⁵

At first sight it appeared as if one of the portraits hanging around had gently sunk into the wall, made a slight change in costume, silently reappeared and gracefully descended from the frame. She was a lady who seemed to blend in the happiest manner the most contradictory elements; she was dignified, though short; intellectual, though fat; motherly, although a maiden.

And she was charitable which softened his heart to her, unlike Mrs. Harwood and her daughter who practiced the Lloyd hospitality and invited him to dinner but were not disposed to building churches.

Miss Chase lived until 1875, willing her house to her three nieces, daughters of her sister Matilda and Thomas Chase, son of Samuel, the original builder.⁴⁶ The two unmarried sisters came to

⁴² Liber EH, 399 (May 11, 1826), Anne Arundel Co. Court House.

⁴³ Anne Arundel Co. Tax List of 1798.

⁴⁴ Anne Arundel County Land Records, IHN 2, f. 623, (November 3, 1847), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁴⁵ "Diary of Isaac Van Bibber," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (1944), 237.

⁴⁶ Matilda, Frances C. T., and Hester Ann. Orphans Court, Anne Arundel Co., 119-10 W. B. 233 (1875), Annapolis.

live in the big house. It was in 1884 that the tragedy of the hall fireplace took place. A spark caught the flimsy dress of Miss Matilda and before members of the household could reach her she was dead. Miss Fannie followed her sister to St. Anne's cemetery in two years. Her death left the house to the remaining and married sister, the widow of the Rev. Samuel Ridout, M. D. In 1886 by the will of Hester Ann Chase Ridout, the Diocese of Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church became the next and present owner. The provision read, "For a Home for destitute, aged and infirm women where they may find a retreat from the vicissitudes of Life and to endow the same as far as my means will allow and to be known as the 'Chase Home' . . . together with furniture (not including family portraits or silverware)." ⁴⁷ Unfortunately for the management of this home, Mrs. Ridout died suddenly just before her attorney arrived to obtain her signature to a codicil leaving an endowment of \$200,000. Through the difficult days of depression, inflation, and wars much of the fine furnishings had to be sold to pay for repairs. A set of Oriental Export china with the Townley-Chase coat-of-arms is safe in the custody of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Other pieces have crept into private collections. But the curious visitor may examine the ground floor for himself and realize that the house has retained most of its beauty unchanged. Limited as is the present lot, the garden with its high "Party-Wall" still holds charm. The dignity that Sam Chase and his Scott gave to the exterior and the happy blend of delicacy and sophistication Buckland, Rawlings & Barnes, and William Noke gave to the living apartments of this dwelling house make it outstanding in this age or any other.

⁴⁷ W. B. 57, 233 (1886), Orphans Court, Anne Arundel Co.

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY

By DOUGLAS GORDON

AMONG the freshmen who arrived at New Haven as the fall term of 1826 began, was a young Virginian named John Montgomery Gordon.¹ He was the son of Samuel Gordon and Susannah Fitzhugh Knox Gordon and was born at "Kenmore" in Fredericksburg on February 4, 1810.

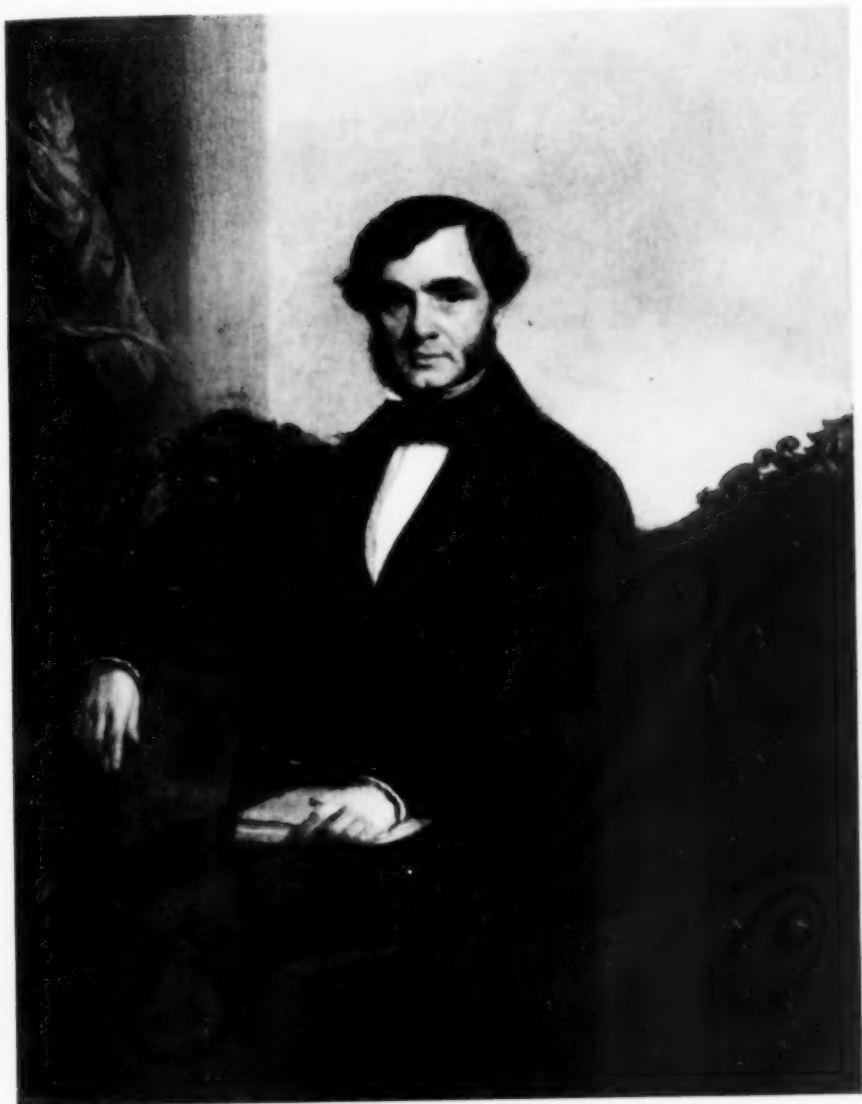
Samuel Gordon and his younger brother, Bazil, who lived across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg in the hamlet of Falmouth, had come to America together in 1783, had worked hard, and prospered greatly. One of the activities of the two brothers was the formation of their jointly-owned library. In its well chosen books they inserted a simple printed ex-libris with the names "Samuel and Bazil Gordon" followed by the date January 1, 1800.² John Montgomery Gordon acquired in his childhood home a taste for reading. He also had the advantage of studying in the Fredericksburg "Academy" of John Goolrick, a mathematically disposed Irishman, from whom he learned Latin and acquired a love of calculations of every sort. In his later life he refers to his boyhood fishing and bird-snaring, his "circle of

¹ The present sketch of the life of John Montgomery Gordon is based primarily on his diary, presented to the Society by his granddaughters, Rebecca Gordon Poultney and Mrs. Charles Randolph Wharton Smith, née Emily Chapman Poultney. A group of family letters likewise owned by the Society has also been utilized, but to a much smaller extent.

The diary began in 1835 and continued to July, 1842. It was undoubtedly kept throughout the diarist's subsequent life, but the only additional volume still in existence is one which runs from August, 1866, to September, 1868. There is also a "Lochdougan Farm Journal" extending from May, 1869, to January, 1870, which describes the purchase of an abandoned farm near Norfolk, where the diarist then lived. It was renamed for the birthplace of Samuel Gordon, his Father, in Kircudbrightshire. A nearby farm named "Eagle's Nest," also belonged to John Montgomery Gordon.

Excerpts from the diary, except for a lengthy account of a journey to Michigan in 1836, will be published in installments from time to time in the *Magazine*.

² The bulk of this library now belongs to Mrs. George Barnett of Washington, D. C. The original owners evidently thought January 1, 1800, to be the first day of the 19th century, which actually began just one year later.



JOHN MONTGOMERY GORDON



Saturday playmates," and water-melon feasts under the "Big Tree" in Falmouth. The activities of his maturity show that he must also, in his younger days, have enjoyed riding, hunting, and other like pleasures. When he matriculated at Yale at the age of sixteen his tastes and character were formed. He was well qualified to secure the best that a college education afforded.

During the next four years, Gordon acquired a thorough classical education, was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, studied law to some extent, and made hosts of friends.³ In fact, when he began a diary in 1835, he lamented that he had not kept one while at college, as it would have afforded "a faithfull and accurate narrative of the minutest events of the sunniest part of my existence." (On second thoughts, he added parenthetically that his married life, then in its sixteenth month, alone deserved this "epithet").

Among the close friends of this collegiate period, looked back upon so fondly, was James S. Wadsworth of Genesee, New York, who was studying law at Yale during 1829-1830. After taking his A. B. in the spring of 1830, the youthful graduate together with William Lee Corbin of Caroline County, Virginia, a graduate of Princeton (also during the previous academic year a law student at Yale), took a trip to Niagara Falls. En route they spent a fortnight visiting the Wadsworth family and that of Edward Church, another member of the class of 1830.

At the Falls, the travellers met Emily Chapman, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman of Philadelphia. Gordon had planned to go to the Harvard Law School, and did so the following year. But he left before the academic year had finished, evidently so as to be able to begin practising at the earliest moment. Three years later, on November 21, 1833, he and Emily Chapman were married in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and came to Baltimore to live, endowed with a wedding present from Samuel Gordon of 101 shares of the Bank of Virginia and 120 shares of the Farmers' Bank of Virginia, the income from which sufficed in those days for a family's comfortable existence.

Then began what really was the sunniest period of the newlywed's life. He was admitted to the Bar by the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City on March 10, 1834, and quickly became successful

³ *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University* is the source of material on the careers of Yale graduates in this sketch.

in his profession. He was elected a Director of the prosperous Union Bank of Maryland, because of his father's and probably his uncle's ownership of stock. This helped his practice, made available business opportunities and gave him an important position in the community. Through his wife's mother, née Rebecca Cornell Biddle, he was connected with Nicholas Biddle, President of the doomed Bank of the United States, who still wielded great power, and also with his less spectacular but more sound private banking cousin, Thomas Biddle, who was Mrs. Chapman's brother. Dr. Chapman himself, originally a Virginian, was the leading physician of Philadelphia. Further, he was Secretary and later President of the American Philosophical Society. He strengthened his son-in-law's Virginia connections and increased what had always been a source of pleasure and pride—his circle of cultivated and important friends.

But the greatest happiness of the rising young lawyer-banker was in his home and family. He first appears in the *City Director* of 1835-6 as living on Fayette Street near St. Paul, just halfway between the Union Bank and the Court House. The house he occupied, though a rented one, he loved as "my own dear home." In Emily Chapman he had a wife who was perfectly congenial. "What a Treasure is a woman's heart," he wrote in the opening pages of his diary, begun when she was expected home from a visit to her parents. Their eldest child, Chapman Gordon, was the idol of the family circle. His Philadelphia grandmother endlessly proclaimed his sweetness and his intelligence (shown, according to one of her letters, by his skill in games of "pomps, whoop, etc."). His father more soberly recorded his early babblings in English and French, excused his lack of tricks by saying this showed "a philosophical turn of mind," rejoiced in the daily growth of his intelligence, and never mentioned his name without adding some endearing term, or otherwise showing how greatly he loved him.

The family grew; another son was born who died shortly after birth, and three daughters, of whom two lived to maturity. The father's happiness expanded to include others' children, not excepting young married people, whose concerns, he confessed, enormously interested him. One of his pleasures in visiting Fredericksburg was to bring presents to his many nephews and nieces. On these visits he enjoyed to the full his Virginia family, "the

beauties of Kenmore," the town of Fredericksburg, nearby Falmouth, and homes of friends and relations, in the surrounding country—"Santee," "Albion," "Bedford," "Prospect Hill," and "Gay Mont." The simplicity of Southern life, too, delighted him after the metropolitan existence of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

It must be added that Baltimore still supplied many unsophisticated attractions fully enjoyed by the Gordons. They and Mrs. Chapman went to see Adrien the magician and "were highly gratified." Four dwarfs from Virginia, "perfect liliputians," a balloon ascension at Fairmount, a Chinese woman, a phrenologist—all, no doubt, great spectacles in those days—were considered worthy of mention in the diary. The Chinese woman caused disappointment by not exhibiting her feet—according to the diary "the only thing worth seeing." And the phrenologist "was wrong in nearly every particular." The diarist's more usual mood of enthusiasm was displayed when he attended the races at Canton with his older friend, William Lorman, and was so excited by a close finish that he "could not help several loud shouts."

The conviviality of John Gordon is shown by the pleasure he took in entertaining his Virginia relations, his Philadelphia in-laws, his class-mates, and many others. He enjoyed being a member of the Monday Club, an intellectual circle centering about John P. Kennedy, and of the Conversation Club, likewise apparently run by Kennedy, who, at least, informed him of his election to it. He was a Director of the Library Company, and once a year ate haggis with the St. Andrew's Society. His accounts of the suppers he provided for the Monday Club members, and the careful lists of those who attended, when the meetings were at his home, prove that this was his favorite organization.

The Gordon diary paints a vivid picture of the entertainments which gave Baltimore its reputation for easy socialibility. Its author took his wife and her Philadelphia friend, Sallie Waln, to a "very charming" musical party at "Belvedere." The following day they attended a "very agreeable" party of about 50 at Richard Caton's in honor of Andrew Stevenson, the Richmond lawyer, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, but was then American Minister at the Court of St. James. The day after that, a mid-day dinner took place at the home of Edward Gray, the father-in-law of John P. Kennedy, at Ellicott's Mills, which the guests reached by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A "chit

chat party at Birkhead's " received the comment, " very pleasant." Mr. Lorman's evening party with music, cream and strawberries, Mrs. Benjamin I. Cohen's Fancy Ball, Grafton Dulany's musical party are described, as are many other evening gatherings (called " Wistars " from the parties given during the presidency of Caspar Wistar, by the Philadelphia members of the Philosophical Society). These at times had an intellectual aspect, as for example, when Robert Gilmor gave an account of his autograph collection, declaring it to be " the rarest, though not the largest, in the U. S." ⁴ and when Archbishop Samuel Eccleston showed his guests " a very fine painting by Domenichino." Conversely at the annual meeting of the Union Bank stockholders, presumably a serious event, gaiety was introduced by serving claret sangaree.

Dr. Chapman frequently invited his son-in-law to Philadelphia for such a " pleasant little frolic "—to use Mrs. Chapman's words—as the annual dinner of the Philosophical Society, or a like occasion. His ties with his wife's native city, in addition, been made more close by the marriage of his friend Wadsworth and the beautiful Mary Craig Wharton, a friend of the Chapmans.

John Gordon lost no opportunity to find interesting events. He journeyed to Philadelphia to hear Horace Binney's oration on John Marshall after the great Chief Justice's death there. He heard Chief Justice Taney charge the Federal Grand jury in Baltimore. He witnessed the " solemn farce " of the Van Buren Convention, and when Virginia cast its vote for Jackson's choice and successor, exclaimed " Parva sapientia regitur mundus." Six years later he attended the inauguration of the sound and thoroughly Anti-Jacksonian Whigs, William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. He noted that 15,000 people had come to it over the rail road " making a handsome receipt to the Road." On another visit to Washington he " went to the capitol and heard Clay, Calhoun, Webster and Preston."

But, despite these enjoyable activities, he loved, even more, " to be alone with nature." He frequently hunted at " Belmont," " Judge " Hanson's home.⁵ He never got over his childhood enjoyment of fishing, and kept careful records of his catches. He

⁴ Gilmor presented his autograph collection to the Maryland Historical Society in 1845.

⁵ See J. H. Scarff, " Belmont, Howard County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (March, 1953), 37-52.

longed for a country place. "Belvedere" he considered "the most desirable country seat I know." Robert Oliver's "Greenmount" of which the chatelaine was a Philadelphian, and a connection of Mrs. Chapman, and the Thomas Oliver home at Elkridge, he mentioned admiringly. Dr. Thomas Edmondson's home he praised for its "most beautiful position, the best point of view for the Bay and City . . . and the grounds, highly embellished by a correct and very experienced taste." He enviously cited the purchase of "Homewood" by Samuel Wyman for \$25,150. Of Bolton he said "what would I not give for such a residence!". And as he contemplated "life in the country and the beauties of vegetation" he sighed "O rus, quando aspiciam te?"

As a young boy, already a reader and possessed of a working knowledge of Latin, he peopled the glades near Fredericksburg "with the beautiful creatures that first unfolded themselves to" his "imagining in the pages of Ovid and Virgil." His early taste for reading became stronger as he grew older. Even on a horseback trip through Michigan in 1836 he carried four volumes of the Beauties of Blair, Burke, Johnson, and Sterne. Though he spoke of his "love of poetry and romance" his favorite author was Swift, and his "favorite play, the wittiest ever written," was Sheridan's "School for Scandal." The Greek, Latin, and French classics he enjoyed untranslated in daily reading. He even expressed the fear that his "preference for works of taste and belles lettres 'might be' becoming a little too strong for the advancement of Law and the sciences." In fact, the reading by which he maintained continuous contact with the great minds of the past was probably an important factor in his rapid advance in the business world, based as that essentially was on good judgment.

One of the maxims of the Diary is "Fools look forward to tomorrow, wise men seize today." Never did a Horatian idea suffer greater violence at the hands of one who seemed to do homage to it than from John Gordon. He was constantly anxious about business matters. Despite the wide range of his intellectual interests, he worked hard and gradually moved ahead. In 1835 he was made acting Cashier of the Union Bank. The following year he moved to a more imposing house at the Southwest corner of St. Paul and Saratoga Streets, and also journeyed to Michigan with Clement Biddle, son of Thomas, and laid the foundation of

a fortune by buying government land. Several Diary references to fees indicate his professional income was substantial and increasing. In 1839 he was designated as President of the Hamilton Bank by Thomas Dunlop, President of the Bank of the United States⁶ by which the local organization was being formed. This Bank never came into existence, as planned. But in 1841, upon the insolvency of Hugh W. Evans, Gordon succeeded him as President of the Union Bank of Maryland. A few weeks later he gratified his long craving by acquiring the country home of John McKim, Jr. In the diary he said: "Its name 'Darley Hall' we have changed into the more euphonious name of 'Huntly,' a family name." Actually in fond reminiscence of his boyhood home, he called his country seat Kenmuir. He was, two years later, upon the death of William Lorman, elected President of the Frederickstown, Boonsborough, and Cumberland Turnpike Road companies. By 1842 he had therefore satisfied all his ambitions, and was justified in expecting the rest of his life to be sunny.

Dark clouds too soon appeared. In 1844 his daughter Emily died; in 1846 the precocious and much loved Chapman. "Kenmuir" was sold the following year; and the family returned to town, living at 101 (now 221) West Monument Street. In 1852 Emily Chapman died at the age of 41, having survived three of her five children. John Gordon was left with two daughters, Susan 14, and Rebecca, not quite 10. He continued as President of the Union Bank, which held its place as the city's second in size of capital. On February 12, 1857, he was chosen by George Peabody as one of the original trustees of the Peabody Institute. Two weeks later at the Trustees' organization meeting he was elected its first Treasurer. The following year the Union Bank reached first place among Baltimore's financial institutions. But on June 28 of that year his daughter Susan died. A few of her letters survive and show her to have been delightfully mature, intelligent and most affectionate.

The grief-stricken father who had borne his earlier losses stoically, now abandoned all interest in the business world, in which he had so long been a conspicuous figure. In 1858 he took a trip to Europe, where he looked in vain for relief from his sorrows.

⁶ The United States Bank of Pennsylvania. The charter of the second Bank of the United States expired March 3, 1836. The successor institution failed for the third and last time on February 4, 1841.

He sold his home on November 11, 1860, and the following year declined to run for re-election as Treasurer of the Peabody Institute. He sought recovery from his "melancholia" in South Carolina, lived near Lynchburg for several years and for some time during the late '60's and '70's in Norfolk.

During the Civil War, Rebecca Chapman Gordon, the only remaining child, lived with her childless aunt, Mrs. James S. Ryan, née Susan Fitzhugh Gordon, at 69 (later 9 West) Mount Vernon Place. When the war ended her father was living near Lynchburg in a house again called Kenmuir.

His life was then given up almost wholly to reading, especially his old favorites, the principal Greek, Latin, and French authors, with a liberal sprinkling, as in the past, of the classics of English literature and some current works. He resumed his diary which recorded the weather, events reported in the paper about his Baltimore friends, his reading, and the hum-drum events of his life. Even when General Lee took tea with him, he mentioned the fact without any comment on his illustrious visitor. He could not throw off his sorrow enough to take an interest in the world outside his daily routine.

On September 12, 1867, Rebecca was married at Grace Church, now Grace and St. Peter's, in Baltimore, to Major Eugene Blackford, C. S. A., of Lynchburg, and brought her father to live with her in the Blackford home. A spark of his interest in the "concerns" of young married people, which he recorded in his Diary in the happy days of his own early married life, now burst out. He gradually gave up his recluse-like existence. He journeyed to Baltimore to see his sister and other members of the family and his old friends. He paid many visits to the springs of Virginia. When his first grandchild was born he gave his son-in-law the means to buy a house near Baltimore. Thus "Cleve" came to be built, just west of Pikesville. He probably helped choose its name, derived from the home of Major Blackford's great-grandfather, Landon Carter, near Fredericksburg, where he had often hunted in his youth.

At Cleve, John Montgomery Gordon spent his declining years. His last link with the bustling world in which he had once been a power was his trusteeship of the Peabody Institute. This he resigned in 1874. He died on November 5, 1884, and was buried in Greenmount Cemetery next to his wife. His last ten years were

spent in the reading which had, since his childhood, proved his most cherished resource. The presence of his three grandchildren, Emily, named for his wife, Eugene, for his son-in-law, and William for his oldest brother, brought back to him the happiness of the period he had prophetically called "the sunniest part of my existence."

This is the first of several installments in which extracts from the Diary will be printed. Excluded is the lengthy Diary of a trip to Michigan in 1836. All omissions, which necessarily include words and sometimes whole sentences from torn or damaged pages, are indicated.

Readers will recognize many family names in the Diary. It has not been possible to determine which member of the family is meant in many cases. Gordon's spelling is somewhat casual at times; it is retained throughout, except for obvious slips of the pen.

THE DIARY OF JOHN M. GORDON

I commence this day, March 18th, 1835, . . . or note book of my daily employment . . . feelings as it will be interesting to . . . years as a record of my life and a history of my gradual transition from one stage of existence, or state of mind and character to an other. I have contemplated and have been half resolved to keep such a journal ever since the age of 16, or the period of my going to college in Connecticut, and I regret more and more every day having continually put it off from time to time till now; as I have lost forever what would have been a most valuable and interesting history of the development of my mind and character and would, in old age, have supplied the deficiencies of memory by affording a faithfull and accurate narative of the minutest events of the sunniest part of my existence. (Not the sunniest part either, for my married life thus far, alone, merits the epithet.) However, regrets are useless. I shall profit by experience and try to pursue a different course in this respect for the future. To begin, "in medias res." I rose not so early this morning as I ought (be . . . clock) I slept later from having supped on . . . last night. (Suppers always hurt me.) I found Susan and Alexr. up and breakfast ready.⁷ I went after breakfast to market. At twelve I went with

⁷ Susan Fitzhugh Gordon and Alexander B. Gordon (1815-1861), A. B., Yale, 1834, sister and brother of J. M. G.

Susan and Alexr. to medical college to attend commence^t.⁸ I thought the novelty of the occasion would gratify her. [But we found] the building too crowded to get even in the en[trance] . . . however . . . get a peep.

[I have not] decided about joining it. I don't like [being separated in the ev]ening from my wife, nor the eating [of] sup[pers], I am afraid, with my present means, of the expense. They will no doubt commence very moderately, but I believe it to be impossible to continue so, long. I meet Dr. Thornton and family at Norris's to night.⁹ I like the Dr. and family very much. I stop here to go up and sit with my sister Susan who is now staying with me, my wife and child being in Ph[iladelphi]a.

In the beginning, from a total want of experience on the subject, I shall perhaps commit to writing a great many incidents which are without interest or importance and a number of thoughts which are puerile or insignificant. But I hope and intend to improve both my penmanship and style.

The day is cold and looks like snow. Yesterday was perfect spring.

19th. I feel unwell and stupid this morning and unfit for reading or any thing like study. I have been quite dispeptic for several days. I did not go to Norris' or Kennedy's last evening, being prevented by the rain and I was glad to have an excuse for staying away as I felt [grea]t uneasiness on account of my child which is s[taying with] its mother in Philadelphia, whither she went W[ednes]day last to see her Brother George off on a 3 years c[ruise].¹⁰ My uneasiness was owing to not receiving a letter from her [to-]night from which I fear the child is ill. The day [is very] fine but I want spirits and the feelings of health [that go with] it . . . of giving offence. If I get a letter info[rming me Chapman] is better I shall enjoy it, as I am very fond of [him].

20th. I got two letters from my wife la[st evenin]g, one due the day before, informing me that the child was better and I went with a relieved mind and light heart to N. card party.¹¹ I was not entirely well,—however I had a very pleasant evening. His supper was one of the prettiest I have seen in Balt. I eat and drank a little more than I should have done, but do not feel the worse for it this morning. The day is very fine. I have been employed thus far in the day in reading and copying the Chapter in Starkie's evidence on murder, and I have read through the charter of Md in latin and the translation. (The word Maryland comes from Mariae terra and Westminster from Westmonasterium.) It is now about 2 o'clock and I shall walk down town to attend to several commissions and to get a little exercise before dinner.

22nd Sunday morning. I have just come from St. Paul's in a hard rain.¹² I sat with Dr. Alexr. who asked me to dine with him today. I shall

⁸ University of Maryland Medical College. See account of exercises in *Baltimore American*, March 19, 1835, p. 2, col. 3.

⁹ Not identified, but clearly not Dr. William Thornton, the architect, of Washington, who died in 1828.

¹⁰ George W. Chapman, U. S. N. (d. 1853).

¹¹ Probably Norris'.

¹² Old St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

do so if Dangerfield should refuse my invitation to dine with me. Yesterday I read untill 12 o'clock and then went d[owntown] with Susan. Mrs. Knox and Sutor,¹³ Norris and Voss to see the chinese [woma]n.¹⁴ I was not much pleased as we did not see her foote, the only thing worth seeing. After dinner I took Susan to see some shops. Welling[ton arr]ived in the afternoon boat from Pha.¹⁵ We all spent the eve[ning a]t F. Voss' with Dr. Thornton's family.¹⁶ Returned about 10½ o'clock and had a terrapin. S. and W. went this morning in the Fred[g. boa]t.¹⁷ The day has turned out badly and I fear they may encounter a storm, it being the equinox. I got a long and very sati[sfactory letter from Emily]. She . . . and a glass of good wine. A few country friends . . . four and toop a nap on the sofa. At 6 o'clock Dangerfield came in and we had tea and I took him down to see Miss Scott and Dr. Thornton's party. I sat untill about 8½. Came home and wrote to my wife. Went to bed at 11 o'clock. The wind was very high at that time and I felt a little anxious about S. and Wellingt., but hope they made Carter's Creek before it came on to blow hard. Rose at ½ past 7, went to market, looked over some acct's. of costs, examined Alex^r. for one hour on Blackstone and am now waiting for Dangerfield who dines with me today. I am not contented with the amount of my studies at present. It seems that the day gets through without my doing any thing in the way of reading. I must rise earlier and do more in the afternoon. I am dyspeptic today from wine yesterday. I was at Bank from 9 to 10. I rece^d. a letter from my wife this morning. With what increasing pleasure do I devour every line she writes me. What a treasure is a woman's heart! 5 o'clock Dangerfield dined with me. I have been reading Hoffman's Legal outlines for an hour. They contain a good deal of learning, but are rather heavy. It is now about sun down and I am one day nearer to seeing my wife and child again. I am very . . . to have them back.

25th Wednesday. Yesterday was a fine day. I read in [the mor]ning

¹³ Mrs. Knox not identified. Mrs. James T. Soutter, née Agnes Gordon Knox, a cousin of J. M. G., being the daughter of his uncle William A. Knox.

¹⁴ The advertisement reads in part, "Afong Moy, possesses a pleasing countenance, is nineteen years of age, and her feet, including her shoes, are but four inches in length, being of the size of those of an infant of one year old, having worn iron shoes for the first ten years of her life, according to the custom of the country. She is richly dressed in Chinese costume, and will occasionally walk before the company. Acong, her companion and interpreter, is a youth of pleasing address, writes in the Chinese characters, speaks English with considerable fluency, and will interpret for the company. He will also write the names of the company in Chinese characters, on handsome embossed, porcelain cards, for 12½ cents each—being a perquisite [*sic*] for h^mself." From Baltimore *American*, March 20, 1835, p. 3, col. 4. The admission price was 50 cents, 12½ cents for children.

¹⁵ Wellington Gordon (1812-1888), A. B., Yale, 1831, A. M., 1869, brother of J. M. G.

¹⁶ Benjamin Franklin Voss, cousin of J. M. G., being a son of his aunt, Jessie Somerville Knox.

¹⁷ The newspapers and directories give scheduled sailings and service available. Steam packets left for Fredericksburg on Wednesdays and Saturdays at 4. (*Director, op. cit.*, p. 23) Daily service to and from Philadelphia was available. (*American*, March 26, 1835, p. 1, col. 3.)

Hoffman's L. outlines. Examined Alex^r. for a couple of [hours at ho]me, then took a short walk. Dined at 4 alone with In afternoon walked towards fair mount to see a balloon [ascen]sion.¹⁸ In the evening wrote to my wife and read [unt]il after 9. Smoked a cigar and went . . . morning . . . spring . . . short walk . . . the infant Wistar. I shall go and become a me[m]ber of the Wistar. I like] the plan. I am now very anxious to have my wife [home] and count the hours she will be still away. I am not at all contented with my present amount of studies. I don't bring my mind to bear with the power I exerted when a student at N. Haven, and I am conscious of wasting a good portion of the day. Nor am I mastering what I do read as completely as I should. Would to heaven I was chin deep in the practice even though it brought me nothing in. I am afraid of the timidity which I feel stealing on me like a depressing incubus and I am apprehensive that it may be a part of my constitution now that I have passed the period of adolescence. I suffer too from that horrid dyspepsia. But for that I may blame my own imprudence. A strict diet and a quantum sufficit of exercise would make me hale and hearty in six months. The day continues very fine.

26th Thursday afternoon. The weather has been fine this morning and is clouding up this afternoon. This I regret, as a bad day will prevent my wife's return tomorrow. I spent last evening at Pennington's with the Wistar and was much gratified. I like the members and the style of refreshment. I shall be happy to become a member myself but have not been applied to directly to do so, any farther than an invitation to them thus far may be taken for a proposition. I returned at 10, smoked a segar and slept tolerably well. Was roused once by a cry of fire. This morning rose at ½ past 7. Went to market, took breakfast, thence to the Bank for one hour, read part of the morning, examined Alex^r. for . . . hours on Blackstone, which I consider a part of my re[creation]. Took a short walk and dined at ½ past 3. I am now [hoping to receive a] letter fr[om my] wife, that I may know [when to expect her]. . . .

. . . Saturday afternoon. I passed yesterday as usual, reading and examining Alex^r. in the morning. Afternoon wrote a letter to Agnes presenting her with Mrs. Chapone's letters. Also wrote to my brother Basil thanking him for his hams. Walked in the afternoon and rece^d. a very sweet letter from my wife, who writes that she will certainly be down to day. It is now 3 o'clock. The weather has been delightfull all the morning and I am most impatient of her coming. Got a letter this morning from my father to execute a few commissions which I have done in part.

¹⁸ See advertisement with illustration in the *American*, March 18, 1835, p. 3, col. 3. The ascension was to be made from "Fair Mount Garden" at four in the afternoon. A parachute with a rabbit was to be dropped from the "car" attached to the balloon. A "band of music" was to help entertain. Tickets were fifty cents.

The "fair mount" was the famous recreation center of the day. The Fairmount Building stood on the block now enclosed by Broadway, Fairmount, Ann, and Fayette. A painting of this balloon ascension by Nicolino Calyo is reproduced in an exhibition catalog of the Baltimore Museum of Art, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), No. 110.

I wish the boat had come in! And the pleasure of meeting was on the point of fruition. I have felt very dyspeptic for the last 3 days though I have been careful in my diet. My spirits, however, have been good. I did no reading this morning. I am afraid I am getting into lazy habits. I was awake by light and rose before 7. Took quite a walk before breakfast.

March 31st. Tuesday morning 8 o'clock. My wife arrived last Saturday evening with her mother. The Dr. was detained by a patient.

Sunday was a bad day. I however went to church. Monday, a fine day. Went to Bank in morning and passed several hours in court. Afternoon went to Bank to count cash as one of the committee for the quarter. Spent last evening at home. Lanman called in for a couple of hours. This morning rose early and went to market, bought a fine rock fish for Dr. C's dinner who comes down in boat today. Shall pass most of morning in court.

April 2nd Thursday morning. Dr. Chapman [and] . . . C came down on Tuesday . . . with Mrs., Dr. . . . was a fine . . . Wistar. . . .

April 3rd. Friday morning. Cloudy, damp, rainy day. R[ead durin]g morning. Dined at 3. Took a long walk with Emily in afternoon. Stopt an hour on our return with Mrs. Donalson. Read till bed time. Rose early. Took a walk. Answered Wellington's letter. Read in the morning Vattel, and examined Alex^r.

Monday morning April 6th. Saturday spent as usual. Sunday was a rainy day and having bad cold in the chest (which is quite a new thing to me), I staid at home and read and slept. Rose this morning at 7 o'clock and took a short walk. Go to the bank at 9. Day cloudy and damp. Wrote Mrs. Alex^r. Gordon yesterday.¹⁹

April 7th. Tuesday morning. Yesterday kept in the house all day from bad cold. Read and retired early. Rose at 7. Read since and as the day is very fine shall walk out. Expect Mrs. Chapman tomorrow or next day.

April 9th. Yesterday spent as usual till dinner. Paid a few visits with Emily. My old college friend Harris dined with me.²⁰ Had a pleasant talk. Spent the evening at R. Gilmore's wistar.²¹ Was awoke about 2 by a fire in Calvert Street. Rose this morning ½ past 7. Went to Bank. Read. Examined Alex^r. and walked untill ½ past two. Mrs. Chapman returned to day to dinner. Fine day. Got a very nice letter from Agnes.

April 10th. Friday morning. Rose at 8 O'clock. Have read, copied, and examined Alex^r. till ½ past two. Dr. Fitzhugh of N. Y. called in this morning.²² He comes to take tea this evening. Fine day. I find my office damp and think it will be safer for me to move into the front parlour. I shewed Dr. Fitzhugh the manuscript relating to the Fitzhugh family and had a conversation with him about it. He informs [me] that he has at home a larger work of the same kind [nearly] identical and a few letters between Henry the . . . England . . . family . . . history. . . .

¹⁹ Susan F. Gordon, sister of J. M. G., who married first her cousin, Alexander Gordon (d. 1832), of Fredericksburg, and secondly James S. Ryan.

²⁰ Benjamin G. Harris, of Leonardtown, a non-graduate of the Class of 1829 at Yale.

²¹ Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1808-1875).

²² Probably of a branch of the Virginia family, a member of which was one of the founders of Rochester, N. Y.

He thinks it passed into some of the female branches and was lost. He promised me copies of the letters from Henry. He has likewise at Bedford four pictures of the early ancestors and one of the *first* settler, all copies. Has no *plate* and knows of none.

Saturday April 12th.²³ yesterday afternoon took a walk with Emily to Mr. Oliver's county seat.²⁴ Fitzhugh took tea with me and left early for theatre.²⁵ Spent the evening very pleasantly at Colⁿ. Moore's with a few very agreeable married people. Staid until 11. Rose this morning at 6. Went to market and have read Vattel until 10.

Monday April 13th. Yesterday went to church. In the afternoon took a walk and made several visits. To day damp. Went to Bank at nine. Thence to court. Took a walk to fair mount in afternoon and finished reading Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* in the evening.²⁶

Tuesday 14 April. Rose at 8. Breakfast and went to market. Shall go to court and read untill dinner. Fine day. Rather windy. Spent evening at home reading Swift.

Wednesday 15th April. Rose at 7. Fine day. Spent the morning in court, reading Vattel and examining Alex^r. Dined at Caton's at 4½.²⁷

Thursday 16th. April. Dined at Caton's yesterday. Had a very pleasant dinner. Some dozen persons present. Spent evening at Howard²⁸ Wistar. Came home in a *snow storm*. It continued mixed with rain all night, but the day being warm it ran off by 12 o'clock. This morning read and passed a couple [hours in] court.

Saturday April 18th. Dr. Chapman arrived this morning from Norfolk. Fine day. Read and attended court till 12 o'clock and walked with him making calls until 2. Dined at 4. Afternoon walked with Nicholas and played whist in the evening untill 11 o'clock.²⁹

Sunday 19th. Rained. Went to church. Dined at home and spent evening reading.

Monday April 20th. Rose at 8. Damp day. Went to bank at 9 o'clock. Read until 12. Walked untill 2 with Dr. Chapman. Dined at J^{no}. Hoffman's at 4 with a very pleasant party of some 10 gentlemen. Spent the evening at Mrs. Gilmore's.

Tuesday April 21st. Rose at ½ past 5 to see Dr. Chapman off. Read and attended court untill one. Walked out with Mrs. G. till dinner. Fine day. Afternoon took a siesta and walk. Passed evening at home reading.

Wednesday April 22nd. Rose at 6½. Read and attended court untill two. Afternoon, walked. Read in the evening until 10 Dugald Stewart.

²³ Actually April 11. Gordon has misdated other entries.

²⁴ Robert Oliver's country home, "Greenmount."

²⁵ Junius Brutus Booth played the lead in "Othello" at the Holliday Street Theater that evening. Curtain time was 7:00. A Farce, "The Spoiled Child," concluded the evening's entertainment. See *American*, April 11, 1835, p. 3, col. 4.

²⁶ John P. Kennedy's novel, *Swallow Barn*, which had been published three years earlier.

²⁷ Richard Caton (1763-1845).

²⁸ Probably Charles Howard (1802-1869), youngest son of John Eager Howard.

²⁹ Certainly Spear Nicholas, Baltimore lawyer of Virginia ancestry.

Thursday April 23rd. Rose at 7½. Fine day. Went to Bank at 9. Remained in court untill 2½. Afternoon read and walked. Read at night untill 11 o'clock.

Friday April 24th. Rose at 7½. Fine morning, cool. Golder begins to paper the large parlour to day. Spent the morning and afternoon in court (trial for murder). Was much pleased with Walsh's speech.³⁰ Passed the evening at home.

Saturday April 25th. Rose at 7. Went to market. Met my old friend . . . on the street. Asked him to dinner. . . .

Monday April 27th. . . . fires still . . . We are . . . and I to Lurman's to dinner on Thursday. The day continues damp and disagreeable. Spent the evening at home as usual reading.

Tuesday April 28th. Rose at 8. Fine day. Cool. Rained violently all night. Spent the evening at Mrs. Brook's.

Wednesday April 29th. Rose early. Passed the morning as usual. Went to the Wistar last night at Brook's.

Thursday April 30. Rose at 7. Damp day. Spent the evening at Mrs. Brown's. Dined at Lurman's with some dozen married men.

Friday. Rose at 7. Got into my new office to day. Am charmed with it. The only objection, if any, is that it is too nice. Spent the day as usual. George Biddle dined with us. Read Fanny Kemble's book until 10.

Saturday May 2nd. Rose at 7. Delightfull day. This is Chapman's birth day [of the month] being nine months. Spent the day as usual.

Sunday May 3rd. Rose at 7. Read untill 11. Went to Catholic Church. Spent the evening reading Mrs. Butler's Book.³¹

Monday May 4th. Rose at 7. Went to Bank at 8. Read and attended court during morning. Read after dinner. Walked. Examined Alx^r. Go to Donnall's to night to meet the Willys of Pha.

Tuesday May 5th. Rose at 7½. Spent last night at Donnall's,—very agreeable party. Came away at 11. Dined at Pennington dinner to Mrs. Howland, pleasant party. Got home at 8.

Wednesday May 6th. Rose at 7. Walked in morning. . . . Read an hour or two and commenced copying the lectures of Judge Dorsey.³² After dinner read, examined Alx^r. and walked with Emily. Read until bed time. Finished Fanny Butler's Book, which I liked mainly. It is a work which raises her in my estimation and I have no doubt will in the public's too, notwithstanding the present cry against it. Her remarks on the society of this country I entirely concur in. It is a tedious book however and might have been cut down to half the dimensions.

Friday May 8th. Rose at 7½. Rainy morning. Made a few notes in journal. Read until dinner. Occupied myself in arranging things about the

³⁰ Thomas Y. Walsh, who with Franklin Anderson defended William Adams when on trial in Federal District Court for the murder of Captain Tilden of the Brig *Susan* of Baltimore. Adams was convicted. See *Baltimore Gazette*, April 25, 1835, p. 2, col. 3.

³¹ Fanny Kemble's *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1835).

³² Probably Clement Dorsey (1774-1848), of Howard County, who was Judge of the Fifth Maryland Circuit after six years in the U. S. House of Representatives.

house until tea. Read a criticism on Hamlet and his German critics until 10. Went to bed at that hour.

Saturday 9th. Rose at 8½. I am becoming very lazy and, I fear, dyspeptic too. I have been gradually giving up my walks for a few months, and am beginning now to feel the bad effects of it. The day is damp.

Sunday May 10th. Rose early. Anna, child's nurse left us to day, having become too intolerable for us to keep her. Did not go to church to day. Read until dinner. In the morning met at the post office an old college acquaintance, Mr. Hand of Georgia,³³ and walked him out to the rail road spring. Afternoon smoked a cigar and lounged. In evening read untill bed time.

Monday May 11th. Rose at the usual hour. Went to Bank at 8. Thence to market. (I must get back to my old habit of going there before breakfast.) Attended court and examined Alx^r. until dinner. Bought a share in the Balt[imore] . . . for one year . . . Latrobe . . . their mach[in]e . . . of that company must be greater than even I have hitherto thought it. Read to Emily until bed time from Littel's Museum.³⁴ Retired at 11.

Tuesday May 12th. Rose at 7. Went to office, breakfasted and brought up journal for last three days. I have finished Latrobe's Justice³⁵ and am at a loss what next to begin.

Wednesday May 12th. Yesterday morning read, copied J. Dorsey's lectures and idled an hour in court. After dinner read Walsh's appeal and walked with Emily beyond Winchester. I have never seen the spring more exquisitely soft and luxuriant. I admire nature the more at every renewal. What would I not give for such a residence as Bolton. We talked about life in the country and the beauties of vegetation. Last night read Walsh's appeal until bedtime. It amuses me much. Emily wrote to invite Sally Waln³⁶ to accompany us to Va. I hope she may come. Rose this morning at 6½ (a little earlier than usual). Went to market. I am having a venetian put up in the passage, which will be a great convenience when finished. Landman informed me yesterday that he had written a book on Law! How astounding.

Fridy., May 14th, 1835. Yesterday rose later than usual. Went to Bank before breakfast. The subject of Evan's Bond as Loan officer of the State came, had the moral courage to refuse to sign it.³⁷ All the members present signed. How melancholy a sight to see old men of experience doing an act of which their sober judgment disapproves merely from the want of courage to refuse. Basil Gordon³⁸ and Dr. Thornton arrived on

³³ George E. Hand, A. B., Yale, 1829, originally of Madison, Conn.

³⁴ *Littel's Saturday Magazine* and *Littel's Spirit of the Magazines and Annuals* were published in Philadelphia 1836-1837 and 1838-1840 respectively. No record has been found of the *Museum*.

³⁵ John H. B. Latrobe's *The Justices' Practice under the Laws of Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, 1826). Several other editions were published over a period of more than 60 years.

³⁶ A Philadelphia friend of the Chapmans.

³⁷ Hugh W. Evan (d. 1863), then president of the Union Bank of Maryland.

³⁸ Basil B. Gordon (1816-1846), cousin of J. M. G., being a son of his aunt, Anne Campbell Knox.

Wednesday night and . . . the next day for . . . Fanny Kemble has been caricatured in N. York. What a reflection upon the taste, gallantry and good sense of the inhabitants, that such a mode of treating a female should not only be tolerated, but even approved. Her book will do them much good notwithstanding. She tells so many truths. "Fas est ab hoste doceri." We dine at George Williamson's tomorrow.

Saturday May 15th. Dined yesterday at Williamson's. Dinner for Mrs. Howland, very expensive, great display of plate, quite pleasant. Came home at ½ past 9. Drank very little wine. Rose at 7½. Went to market. H. W. Evan's brother hung himself yesterday.

Sunday May 16th. Yesterday morning lounged until 1. Examined Alx^r. and then walked out with Emily to pay several visits. Afternoon Josephine Carter slept in. Went with her and E. to call on Mrs. Marshall. In the evening F. Voss and wife and R. V. came in.³⁹ We played whist until 10. Rose this morning at 9. Went to cathedral at 11. Slept in the afternoon and read Shakespeare and Walsh's appeal at night.

Monday May 17. Rose at 7. Fine day. Summer is fast approaching. Go to bank this morning. Feel a little delicacy still from having declined signing Evan's bond. I am much pleased, however, with my own firmness and hope that my refusal in that instance will give me sufficient confidence in myself to pursue the course my judgment dictates on all future occasions of the like kind. I have felt quite dispeptic during the last week, but am bright and light today. I must eat less. Passed the morning as usual. Made some calls with Emily. Walked after dinner and read at night Walsh's appeal. Went to bed about 10.

Tuesday May 18. Rose at 6½. Went to market. Feel all the . . . metaphysics part of the morning and copied Dorsey for an hour or two. Took a nap and walk in afternoon. Retired to bed at 10½.

Wednesday May 20th. Rose at 7. Walked to Howard park.⁴⁰ Hot summer day. The Van Buren Convention meets to day. The races began yesterday.

Thursday May 21st. Wrote off a deed in the morning. Paid a morning visit to Mrs. Gill, the bride, and sat an hour in the Van Buren Convention.⁴¹ There are about 500 members, 150 from Maryland an opposition state! I find in the Va. delegation, several acquaintances. Afternoon read and lounged. Read Shakespeare at night (Henry IV).

Friday May 22, 1835. Rose at 7½. Cloudy and cool to day. Rained last night. Wrote to my father last evening about the meeting of the Stockholders of the Union Bank on the subject of the act for Extension of the charter. Read and copied until 12 and then went down to Van Buren Convention. Remained there until 2½. Was very much amused with the speeches of some of the members and gratified particularly with an eulogy

³⁹ Benjamin Franklin Voss; and Robert S. Voss, brother of B. F. Voss and a director of the Union Bank of Maryland.

⁴⁰ John Eager Howard's estate, Belvedere.

⁴¹ The "Presidential Convention" assembled in the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Holliday Street. See *American*, May 21, 1835, p. 2, col. 1, and subsequent issues.

on Mr. Johnson by a member from Kentucky.⁴² The Va. delegation seem to be very inferior in every respect and are disposed to bolt from the nomination of Johnson. The vote was given unanimously for Van Buren, as President. *Peter K. Daniel* gave in the vote on the part of Va. Shade of the immortal Washington. O Virginia would that the waters of thy Chesapeake could wash this foul stain from thy character. I go down again at 6 in expectation of fine fun, now that they are at loggerheads. There will be some good sparring. The Va's will be found true. . . . The speaker Stevenson⁴³ is a . . . of solemn . . . Randolph's . . . parva . . . sapientia regitur mundus! The flash of honest indignation and the blush of national pride, makes my blood fairly tingle when I stand as a looker on at this solemn farce and see the coarse mechanism of the miserable body which arrogates the right to direct the choice of one million of freemen.

Saturday May 23rd 1835. Rose at 7. Delightful day. Moderate temperature. Read, attended court and examined Alex^r. During afternoon read and walked with Emily to select some presents for Alx^r. for the grandchildren. Called at Page's on Bernard Carter. Alx^r. leaves here tomorrow for Fredg. in the boat. We shall follow via Washington in about a week after. How I long to see the Old Dominion again and once more with feelings of ever growing attachment tread the familiar scenes of my boyhood,—the site of the old church still hallowed with many a wild conceit of childish superstition,—the neighboring wood which I have bounded through by day break in my morning round to my snares,—the rocks and little islets in the river where I have whiled away so many happy Saturdays with my angling rod, and the clear, babbling springs at whose waters I have drunk health and inspiration, peopling their fountains with the beautiful creatures that first unfolded themselves to my imagining in the pages of Ovid and Virgil. O Rus quando aspiciam te!

⁴² Robert M. Johnson (1781-1850), Vice President of the United States, 1837-1841.

⁴³ Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, former Speaker of the House of Representatives and soon to be Minister to Great Britain.

THE TRIBULATIONS OF A MUSEUM DIRECTOR IN THE 1820's

By WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

WHEN Rubens Peale came to Baltimore in May, 1822, to assume the proprietorship of "Peale's Baltimore Museum and Gallery of the Fine Arts" from his elder brother Rembrandt, he was taking a bold step which he hoped would lead to fame and fortune, especially the latter. Rembrandt had expected the same results when he built the museum in 1814 but eight years of disillusioning experience had convinced him that his old trade of portraiture was better suited to his temperament, and he was glad to let brother Rubens try his hand. The short and not very successful tenure of Rubens Peale at the Baltimore museum was nevertheless the most lively period of its existence, and through a group of recently discovered letters from him to his younger brother Franklin Peale we are given a frank and intimate glimpse of the trials and tribulations of a museum director in the 1820's. Rubens might well be called the "first professional museum director" in this country—the modern professional will sympathize with his troubles which were in many respects different from those of a modern museum but at the same time curiously similar in nature.¹

Rubens' claim as the "first professional museum director" stems from the fact that from childhood he suffered with poor eyesight. The numerous children of Charles Willson Peale grew up in the atmosphere of the painting studio and were given lessons from babyhood, boys and girls alike. But it was soon evident that Rubens' affliction would not permit him to follow the family tradition, and he applied himself to his father's other great interest, the Philadelphia Peale's Museum. Rubens made

¹ The letters from Rubens to Franklin Peale run from May 8th, 1822 to August 24, 1824. They are in the collection of the American Philosophical Society and are published here, for the first time, with their kind permission. The letterbooks of Charles Willson Peale from the same institution have also been used. Hereafter APS.

a special study of botany, became an expert taxidermist, and by 1805 was his father's chief assistant. In 1810 old Charles Willson Peale retired, leaving Rubens in full charge of the museum. He was then only twenty-six years old, but unquestionably the best trained man for the job and interested in no other career.

Rembrandt's excursion into the museum business was a result of his discouragement at the portrait painter's trade. In 1812 he made the sudden decision to abandon art and take over the Philadelphia museum, but Rubens objected to sharing the profits and he was upheld by father Peale who felt besides that Rembrandt's future was as an artist. His Philadelphia plans upset, Rembrandt rushed to Baltimore, built his own museum and opened it to the public in August of 1814. Unfortunately, he was neither a good business man nor a clever showman, and the heavy mortgage and other debts he had contracted in order to establish the museum became a suffocating burden. Meanwhile, by 1822 the affairs of the Philadelphia museum were in poor shape and Charles Willson Peale felt obliged to come out of retirement and take personal command again. Rubens was faced with a subordinate position and a smaller share of the profits in Philadelphia—Rembrandt was disgusted with the Baltimore situation and offered it to Rubens—and Rubens took it, moving to Baltimore in May with his wife Eliza and their year-old boy.

The arrangement with Rembrandt was quite informal. Rubens agreed to pay the mortgage interest and other fixed charges, maintain and improve the collection, support himself and family in a modest way out of the income, and eventually buy the museum from his brother. At least, this seems to be the sense of the agreement although we have no written evidence. In 1821 the income of the museum had been \$3,385, the necessary operating expenses came to about \$2,500, and Rembrandt estimated that \$1,000 a year was needed for improvements and expansion of the collection. It was up to Rubens to improve the income, and he set about it with great vigor and imagination.²

Immediately Rubens set about adding some "modern" museum attractions. He contracted with Isaiah Lukens, a gifted amateur mechanic of Philadelphia, to make a model of Charles Readhefer's

² Peale's Museum Account Book, Maryland Historical Society, gives a full record of the income and expenditures, although not in the detail which we would like.

"perpetual motion machine" which had created quite a stir in Pennsylvania in 1813 and was new to Baltimore. He ordered "magic Lanthorn" slides, "a balloon, glass figures, Tumbling Man &c" saying "They will be very exceptable [*sic*] here[,] my apparatus is still very small and I have been engaged ever since my arrival in the large operations, so that small articles have been deferred." He dickered with one John Butterworth for a collection of stuffed birds from England, asked brother Franklin for the exact measurements of the "Profile Machine" for making outline drawings of visitors' heads so they could be silhouetted or colored, and "purchased two living wolves at 20 dollars."³ There were some immediate aggravations, too. "I had the misfortune to have the globe of the [orrery] broke last week by the white washer. And yesterday to [lose] the wild cat [.] I expect his situation was [too] warm, for on skinning him I found that it was very fat."⁴

An expanded program of instruction and entertainment was begun. Rubens was surprised to learn that the Philadelphia museum would close during the summer months, for he intended to keep open. "I commenced last evening with a small band of music, and expect to continue it every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the evenings that I exhibit the magic Lantern[.] The other 3 evenings are devoted to other branches of Natural Philosophy," he wrote to Franklin.⁵ The demonstrations in "Natural Philosophy" were intended to be educational and covered in a popular fashion some of the principles of electricity, chemistry, physics, and in particular the nature of illuminating gas. The electrical experiments made much use of natural magnets, magnets powered by wet batteries, and static electricity machines which not only amazed the audiences but were also offered freely for medical treatments "at the visitor's risk." The experiments in physics were equally simple. With an air pump he could exhaust a glass tube and show "the Guinea & Feather Expt." or that a coin and a feather would fall at the same rate of speed in a vacuum. By using mercury as a concealed weight he could demonstrate the "Chinese Tumblers" apparently walking down steps of their own volition. Hydrogen gas was the source of many wonders.

³ Rubens to Franklin Peale, June 25, 1822, APS.

⁴ Rubens to Franklin Peale, June 11, 1822, APS.

⁵ July 9, 1822, APS.

Rembrandt had first "illuminated" the museum in 1816 with this gas and had gone on to form the Baltimore Gas Company with several businessmen. Although he had been bitterly disappointed in his expectations of profit from this venture and had been forced to withdraw from the company in 1820, the museum continued to be one of the very few Baltimore buildings which was lighted by gas. The equipment was in poor shape when Rubens took over, part being rusted and the rest needing paint. Moreover, Rubens complained to Franklin, the gas holders were in the lobby and the water in them was likely to freeze in cold weather.⁶ He wanted to do more with the gas than Rembrandt had, particularly to make a very hot flame for melting silver and iron but his equipment was unequal to the task. In chemistry there were a number of stock experiments using ammonia gas, silver nitrate, sulphuric acid and the like, and the brothers exchanged the latest formulas with each other.

All of these "experiments" were really no more than demonstrations poorly related to the principles of science, and the real scholars of the day were beyond such spectacular but inconsequential displays. But this was what the public wanted, and very few of them had the faintest notion of the important developments which were going on. Rubens was a publicist, not a scientist, and yet his educational shows may be compared favorably with those of many travelling lecturers of today if allowance is made for the increase in knowledge since that time. His audience was no less mystified at the wonders of magnetism, than a modern audience is when faced with atomic energy. In any case, his intent was serious and there was no other place in Baltimore where the layman could view these marvels; it was not his fault that his grasp of science was shallow.

The summer wore on and attendance was meagre. He wrote to Franklin, "These last 3 days have been very close and sultry, scarcely anybody moving," and besides the weather, "the Williams are playing at the Pavillion [*sic*] at 25 cents each visitor, giving them a play and dancing on slack and tight ropes &c &c &c."⁷ He was planning for the fall's first big attraction, however, the "First Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Painting, Drawing, Engraving &c" Franklin was asked to canvass a number of

⁶ August 26, 1822, APS.

⁷ August 26, 1822, APS.

Philadelphia artists for their works and to pack them off to Baltimore as soon as possible. He said that he already had works by father Peale but he wanted some of Uncle James' landscapes and "I think they will sell." Sarah and Anna Claypoole Peale's works were expected, "with them," for the girls were to come down on a visit. Younger brother Titian should send something, and going beyond the family, William Birch should be approached for landscapes, and he needed more things by Thomas Sully. Would Franklin ask William McMurtry, Mr. Bridland, Mr. Doughty, Miss Shipkey, and Mr. Seamore for paintings? Sully might know of some others, too, but the catalogue must go to the printer very soon and dispatch was necessary.⁸

The exhibition, the first of its kind in Baltimore, opened on October 1 and continued for six weeks. It was commended by the *Baltimore American* as having "much to admire—much to claim the attention of the stranger and the citizen as well," and there followed a rather long critique of the show.⁹ There were to be three more of these annual exhibitions, all very popular and well reviewed. In 1823 the *American* was lavish with praise, saying "The good taste of both citizens and strangers will, of course, induce them to visit an exhibition so well worthy of their attention and patronage, and so creditable to the character of Baltimore," and it was pointed out that through such exhibitions the taste of the city would be cultivated and "native genius" incited to create great art.¹⁰ Whether the annual exhibitions had any effect on the taste of Baltimore or not, Rubens Peale deserves credit for sponsoring the first public art program in the city. And, incidentally, he made money out of it and sold paintings.

The winter of 1822 brought on new problems. In December he wrote to his father, "The cold week was a scene of distress amongst my live animals. The Alligator died . . . the Turtle also died. The Otter wore his feet on the brick floor until they bled, and before I was aware of it he bled to death. The Eagle broke his chain and in passing the Tiger Cat was caught by him and was instantly killed. Also a chicken which stood perpendicular faired the same fate." To prevent more tragedy, he designed a new stove for the animal room which would also help to heat

⁸ September 11, 1822, APS.

⁹ *Baltimore American*, November 6, 1822.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 20, 1823.

the gallery above, and he was busy working over the stuffed animal collection to prevent further moth damage.¹¹

This was disheartening, but there was new competition from other amusements to add to his woes. He complained to Franklin, "Since the opening of the Circus I have been completely deserted[.] All run mad after Mr. Hunter and as soon as the genteel part quit it they have taken to the small Theatre which is quite a snug Bandbox. . . ." ¹² Rubens turned to theatrical shows in self defense. In November he had offered "Mr. J. Tilly, the celebrated glass blower," who did, "surprising manipulations with hot glass" and made "Writing Pens, Swans, Doves &c." ¹³ Next, he engaged the "celebrated Italian Musician," Signior Hellene, who could play on six musical instruments at once. The year before Signior Hellene had been engaged for the Philadelphia museum over father Peale's protest, who thought this was undignified foolishness, but Rubens knew that he would draw attendance. In March he reported to Franklin that "Our income before Hellene arrived scarcely defrayed my expenses, but now it is doing much better. . . . He gives very general satisfaction to my visitors." On the 18th and 19th of March Rubens had the good fortune to have a troupe of Indians as his feature and he took in more in two days than in some recent months.¹⁴

In April the museum was honored by a visit from the aged Charles Willson Peale, who gave a lecture on natural history to a large audience. Unfortunately he brought disquieting news which ruined whatever pleasure Rubens may have enjoyed from the presence of his father. Father Peale read him extracts from a letter to Rembrandt from Henry Robinson, who was the chief stockholder in the museum. Rubens must have been thunderstruck to learn in this backhand manner that "Something is wanted to give spirit to the museum. . . . Neither ground rent or dividends has been paid since Rubens has had it. . . . Robt. Gilmore (who owns a few shares) has hinted to me that it would be best to take it out of Rubens hands—and Mr. McKim [owner of the ground] says that he must sell for the ground rent. . . ." On his return to Philadelphia, the father suggested that perhaps Eliza

¹¹ Rubens to Charles Willson Peale, December 8, 1822, APS.

¹² December 12, 1822, APS.

¹³ *Baltimore American*, November 11, 1822.

¹⁴ March 21, 1823, APS.

would consider selling some property she owned so that Rubens and his wife could jointly purchase the museum free and clear, and he warned his son that something would have to be done quickly.¹⁵

For the time being Rubens plugged away at his job, and added some new attractions. In August he was planning for the second Annual Exhibition and also trying to make a bargain with a "Frenchman" for "a very fine Lyon, two Leopards, and a Bull which is only two feet six inches high," but they were too expensive and the deal was not completed.¹⁶ The letters to Franklin Peale are interrupted at this point for nearly a year, but newspaper advertisements show that he was as busy as ever. Sarah M. Peale, his cousin, was now living in his household and using the third floor rooms at the museum as a portrait studio. More animals were added to the live collection, there were astronomical demonstrations by Mr. Newell and a lecture by Joseph Lancaster, the inventor of the monitorial system of education. Spring brought Rembrandt back to Baltimore to show his "National Portrait and Standard Likeness of Washington," the so-called "porthole portrait" which was now his chief stock-in-trade. If anything, the museum seemed more lively than before.

But in August of 1824 Rubens suddenly came to the conclusion that the Baltimore museum was a hopeless undertaking. He had learned that Joseph Delaplaine's gallery of paintings and curiosities in Philadelphia was for sale; Rubens decided to buy it and take it to New York, leaving Baltimore for good. He wrote to Rembrandt, "I have deliberately reflected on the subject and I find that I ought in justice to myself and family give up the museum entirely."¹⁷ Without wasting any further time, he wrote to Franklin and asked him to attend to packing the Delaplaine collection and send it on to New York, and remarked sadly, "the only thing that I am sorry for, is, that I am under the necessity of abandoning an institution that I had pride in and throwing not only myself into difficulties, but also Rembrandt . . . if any prospect existed of at any moderate period of time to get it out of debt, I would have been pleased to continue my exertions here,

¹⁵ Charles Willson Peale to Rubens, April 24, 1823, Letterbook XIV, page 236, APS.

¹⁶ Rubens to Franklin Peale, August 4, 1823 APS.

¹⁷ Rubens to Rembrandt Peale, August 18, 1824, APS.

but unfortunately there is none."¹⁸ This ends the exchange of letters which began so optimistically only twenty-seven months before.

However, it was not yet the end of Rubens' connection with the Baltimore museum. The Delaplaine collection was set up in New York as he had planned, and Eliza and the children established there, but the Baltimore stockholders and creditors beseeched him to continue in charge of the museum. Writing to Eliza from Baltimore, Rubens reported that William Lorman had agreed to forget the arrears in interest due to him, and another person was willing to write off \$150 of the back interest. "The general opinion is that I must not leave Baltimore, that all should aid and relieve the institution of its difficulties, that it might flourish and be unincumbered," but he added cynically, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. I will not stay unless it is put on better terms than I took it from Rembrandt, or they compel me [which] seems too impossible to think of."¹⁹ But accommodation was possible—an agreement was reached by which the interest on the old debts was reduced and Rubens undertook to continue to supervise the museum affairs, but through the offices of a "competent person" who would receive a salary.

The museum struggled on for five years with William Atkinson as the "competent person" in attendance, and Rubens as the absentee proprietor making frequent trips from New York to inspect its progress. The only Peale in residence was Sarah, who continued to use the third floor rooms as a portrait studio. Affairs grew steadily worse, and finally late in 1829 Rubens offered to assign his interest in the building to the stockholders if they would release him from all his obligations to them. This offer was promptly accepted and a few months later the building was sold to the city government for use as the City Hall. Thus ended the tale of Peale's Baltimore Museum and Gallery of the Fine Arts.

Why did the museum fail? Rembrandt complained that his unfortunate venture in the Baltimore Gas Company had prevented him from giving the close attention to the museum which it required, and that the architect, Robert Cary Long, Sr., had spent \$14,000 on the building instead of the \$5,000 which he had

¹⁸ Rubens to Franklin Peale, August 24, 1824, APS.

¹⁹ Rubens to Eliza Peale, September 5, 1824, APS.

expected. He thought that the stockholders had been unduly harsh on Rubens, and on the other hand, Rubens should not have divided his time between New York and Baltimore in the later years. In any case he said, "It is not to the credit of Baltimore that the liberal views and purposes of science should be sacrificed by the sordid calculations of shortsighted commercial avarice."²⁰ These were only details, not the real cause for the failure. The New York museum failed in 1837, the Philadelphia museum in 1845, and the only survivors among "museums" were those typified by the famous Barnum's Museum in New York. The Peales envisioned the museum as an educational institution but they had to operate it like a business and with very slender capital resources. In the first half of the 19th century the number of educated and cultured people in America was very small, there was little leisure time for most, and no tradition of supporting cultural and educational activities with public funds. In order to make a living, the Peales were forced to offer popular entertainment, but in this field they could not compete with the slick humbuggery of a Phineas T. Barnum and instead lost the sympathy of the people of learning and taste. The Peales were far ahead of their times as educators—the idea of free public education on the grammar school level was new and controversial in the 1820s and the extension of the principle to secondary schools, colleges, or public museums was no more than a wild dream. Rubens Peale did the best he could with the Baltimore museum under these circumstances, and he deserves our admiration for his struggle.

²⁰ Rembrandt to Charles F. Mayer, October 12, 1830, in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVI (1931), 133-135.

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART III

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 2, June, 1954, p. 142)

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹
(Virginia State Library)

Richmond January the 15th 1781

Sir

I received some time ago from Majr. Forsyth ² and afterward from the Board of War a requisition to furnish one half the supplies of Provision for the Convention Troops removed into your State. I should sooner have done myself the honor of writing to your Excellency on this Subject but that I hoped to have had it laid before you more fully than could be done in writing by a Gentleman who was to have passed on other public business by the way of Annapolis. The late events in this State having retarded his setting out I think it my duty no longer to postpone explanation on this head.

Your Excellency cannot be unapprised of the powerful armies of our enemies at this time in this and the southern States, and their future plan is to push their Successes in the same quarter by larger reinforcements. The forces to be opposed to these must be proportionately great, and those forces must be fed. By whom are they to be fed? Georgia and South Carolina are annihilated, at least as to us. By the requisition to us to send Provisions into your State it is to be supposed that none are to come to the Southern Army or any State north of this; for it would seem inconsistent that while we should be sending North your State and others beyond you should be sending your Provisions South. Upon N. Carolina then already exhausted by the ravages of two Armies and on this State are to depend for subsistence those bodies of men who are to oppose the greater part of the Enemy's force in the United States, the subsistence of the German and of half the British Conventioners. To take a view of this

¹ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 17-19. Not printed but noted in Boyd, *Jefferson*, IV, 371.

² Possibly Robert Forsyth, a major in the Virginia militia at this time.

matter on the Continental requisition of Novr. 4, 1780. for specific quotas of Provision it is observable that North Carolina and Virginia are to furnish 10,471,740 lbs. of animal food & 13,529 barrels of flour; while the States north of these will yeild 25,293,810 lbs. of animal food and 106,471 barrels of flour. If the greater part of the British Armies be employed in the South, it is to be supposed the greater part of the American force will be sent there to oppose them: But should this be the case, while the distribution of the Provisions is so very unequal would it be proper to render it still more so by withdrawing a part of our contributions to the support of Posts northward of us? it would certainly be a great convenience to us to deliver a portion of our specifics at Frederick Town rather than in Carolina: but I leave it to your Excellency to judge whether this would be consistent with the general good or safety. Instead of sending aids of any kind to the northward it seems but too certain that unless every substantial and timely assistance is received from thence our Enemies are yet far short of the ultimate term of their success. I beg leave therefore to refer to your Excellency whether the Specifics of your State as far as shall be necessary had not better be applied to the support of the Posts within it, for which your quota is much more than sufficient, or were it otherwise, whether those of the States North of you had not better be called on than to detract any thing from the resources of the Southern opposition already much too small for the encounter to which it is left. I am far from wishing to count or measure our contributions by the requisitions of Congress. Were they ever so much beyond these I should readily strain them in aid of any one of our Sister States: but while they are so far short of those Calls to which they must be pointed in the first instance, it would be great misapplication to divert them to any other purpose: and I am persuaded your Excellency will think me perfectly within the line of duty when I ask a revival of this requisition.

(Signed) T. J.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ^a
(Virginia State Library)

Annapolis, Maryland 27th. Feby 1781
In Council

Sir

We have just received the Resolutions of Congress of the 20th. Instant, recommending it to the Executives of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to agree upon, and settle on an Arrangement for supplying the Southern Army with Provisions, from the States most contiguous, and for replacing the same with Provisions from those that are more remote, and to establish such mode of Transportation as will be most convenient and least expensive to the whole.⁴

^a Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 328, and in Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 16.

⁴ See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 178.

It is our Desire, that some place in Virginia should be immediately agreed on, and assigned for Depositing the Quota of Provisions, which We are called upon to supply to the Southern Army: In establishing which, We think the mutual ease, and Convenience of both States should be adverted to, and none has occurred to Us So suitable as Alexandria; If your Excellency should concur with us in Opinion, you will have a proper Person appointed to receive at that Post, the Provisions which we will be able to forward,—Your Excellency will communicate your Sentiments on this Subject, as early as possible, and in the mean Time We shall be preparing to comply fully with the Recommendations of Congress. We are anxious to be informed of the present Situation of Virginia; many Reports have been circulating here, but none so authentic as to deserve entire confidence.

We have the honour to be
With sentiments of the highest respect and Esteem
Your Excellency's Mo. Hble servts.

Tho. S. Lee

His Excy Gov^r. Jefferson of
Virginia.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ⁵
(Virginia State Library)

Richmond
March 6th, 1781

Sir,

I had the Honor of receiving yesterday your Excellency's Favour of February 27th and had just before received the resolutions of Congress of February 20th. which were the Subject of the Letter.

I think that we ought not to expect any Cooperation in this Business from North Carolina and that we should be disappointed were we to expect it.

A State in the midst of which are several different armies of Foes & of Friends as destructive from necessity as Foes, which has been consumed by their ravages near a twelvemonth is not in a Condition to give but to expect assistance. It must be evident that from the Presence of our Armies in that State she must furnish more than her Quota for supplies, because she makes up the Failures of all other States; for on these Failures of supply the army will not go to take from the State failing but takes it's necessary Subsistence from that in which they are. I think then that of the States named in the resolution of Congress the object of the resolution rests truly on Delaware Maryland and Virginia and I shall be very happy to concur with them in such equal measures as will effect the intentions of Congress. I do not apprehend it was intended by your Excellency when you proposed to deposit your Quota of Specifics at Alexandria that the

⁵ Printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 77-78.

Burthen of Transporting it thence to North Carolina should be left on us solely, because as on the same plan we should be entitled to deliver our Quota on our Southern Boundary which would bring up our share of Burthen to an equality of yours; Were we moreover to transport your quota and that of Delaware across our Country it would be so much more than equality. I take the Liberty of mentioning this because your Excellency's proposition has been I think misunderstood in this particular. The Desire of Congress is that we should settle an arrangement for procuring supplies for the Southern Army in the States most convenient for procuring supplies from other States, and for transporting the whole. All this supposes a joint Concern. I should think therefore that it ought to be executed jointly, or if divided that the division of the whole that is of the procuring Supplies in one Place replacing them by others and transporting both should be equal, by which I mean proportioned to our abilities as rated in the Continental Scale. This may be done in several different ways: 1st. by dividing among us the Line of Transportation into such parts as when combined with the quantity to be transported along each part will produce a total duly proportioned between us: 2d by putting into the hands of a Quarter Master due Proportions of Money or means of Transportation to be by him employed in carrying on our Specifics from their respective States: 3d For each State to appoint it's own agent & to procure their quota of Specifics as near as they can to the army, replacing their money by Sale of such Specifics as might be raised within the State by Taxation. The first & second modes are liable to this objection that the Transportation will cost very considerably more than would purchase the Articles in the Vicinities of the Army.

Should these nevertheless or any other which can be thought of be more agreeable to your Excellency and the President of Delaware we shall be ready at any Time to proceed to settle the arrangement or as the settlement of it by Way of Letter might draw it to a great Length, I would propose to refer it to be done by the Delegates from the respective States in Congress. Should the third mode suggested above be preferred as it would be carried into separate Execution, no Reference would be requisite.

[With sentiments of high respect & attachment,]

I have the Honor [to be, dear Sir,

[Your most obedient and most humble servant]

T[h]. J[efferson]

James McHenry, who had been one of Washington's secretaries for four years, was appointed aide to Lafayette in the Spring of 1781. His series of letters to Governor Lee, 49 in number, from the Yorktown front, form one of the most valued parts of our collection. Many of these will be quoted later. Washington appointed McHenry Secretary of War in 1796, a position he held until 1800.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ⁶
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Baltimore 3d February 1781
11 o'clock A. M.

Dear Sir,

I have a letter this instant from the Marquiss de la Fayette, in which he signifies that the detachment under his command will be at the Head of Elk this day or tomorrow at furthest; and presses sending forward the Vessels designed for their transportation, with all possible dispatch. As the shipping collected here is altogether inadequate to the purpose, and as inconveniences may attend their going in detail, I have taken the liberty to promote the Marquiss intentions, by making this communication to your Excellency; that, if there should be any shipping at Annapolis, no moments may be lost in ordering them to the Head of Elk.

I have the honor to be, etc.

James McHenry

THOMAS SIM LEE TO MORDECAI GIST ⁷
(Gist MSS, Maryland Historical Society)

In Council, Annapolis Feb. 26, 1781

To the Hon. Gen. Gist.

Sir

Though we have not been favored with any authentic Intelligence of the Situation of Virginia, yet, what we obtained convinces us that very essential Services would be rendered by sending to their Succor all the Regular Soldiers in this State that can be expeditiously collected. Our wish to give every Aid to Virginia at this trying Emergency and Conclusion that very important Consequences will result from it, induces us to request you would have all the Regular Soldiers in this State assembled immediately and put in Readiness to be transported in vessels which we will order to be procured here and at Baltimore as soon as you intimate to us your Acquiescence in what we have proposed.⁸

We think some of the experienced Supernumerary Officers in this State would be very serviceable in Virginia.

We are
Sir
With Esteem
Your obed^{bt} Sermt

General Gist

Thos. S. Lee

⁶ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 49-50.

⁷ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 327.

⁸ Gist's reply is printed in the *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 89-90.

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE ⁹
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head of Elk, March 3d, 1781

Sir

I Have the Honor to inform your Excellency that the troops, Artillery, and Stores destined to embark under my orders are safely arrived at this place and to my Great disappointment are now detained for want of Vessels. This Affair is so important Sir, and My Last orders from His Excellency General Washington are so positive, that I am afraid the Least delay may be attended with very Bad Consequences.

Our detachment Being accompaynied By a Large Quantity of Horses and Heavy Artillery it will Require a Vast number of vessels, and from what I Hear at this place the totality of the Vessels at Annapolis and Baltimore will Be Requisite for our Embarkation. Another important Article is to collect every Armed Vessel that can Be Had for the safety of our Navigation in the Bay. A sufficiency of Boats to Land the detachment at once, and of dispatch Boats to Carry intelligence are very essential.

Was I not sensible, Sir, of the importance of this Expedition, of the Happy effect it may Have for the advantage of all the states and the more particular interest of some, I would not presume to trouble your Excellency with a minute details of our boats. But unless the afore mentioned articles are sent to this place with the Greatest dispatch, it is my duty to observe to Your Excellency that delay will Render our expedition very precarious. My uneasiness on this Head Has Been increased By a Late Letter Received from the Commander in chief, wherein he urges the necessity of Embarking immediately, and from the nature of His plan observes the Great inconvenience of delay.¹⁰

Having laid our circumstances before your Excellency and Having taken the liberty to observe [damaged].

THOMAS SIM LEE TO LAFAYETTE ¹¹
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

March 5, 1781

Sir,

We had the Honor of addressing you on the third Instant ¹² since which we are favored with yours of the same Date. We are fully impressed with the Advantages which the States in general and Maryland in particular will derive from the Success of the Expedition which you have the Conduct of, and truly lament the Difficulties which have occurred.

⁹ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 101-102.

¹⁰ See Washington to Lafayette, February 25 and 26, 1781, Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXI, 228-290, 295-296.

¹¹ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 399.

¹² Council to Lafayette, March 3, 1781, printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 337.

We however flatter ourselves the Movement of your Detachment will not be much retarded on that Score, as the wind has been so favorable for some Time past as to give a Number of Vessels impressed in this Port and Baltimore Town an opportunity of getting to the Head of Elk.

We beg leave to renew the Assurances already given that every Execution in the Power of this State shall be chearfully made to remove the Difficulties you may apprehend in transporting the Troops down the Bay.

It will give us the highest Pleasure to have any share of the Accomplishment of your Projects attributed to the Exertions of Maryland. We have prepared a Ditpatch Boat to convey your Letter to the Commanding officer near Portsmouth which will be sent off as soon as the winds will permit and have given Directions to the Master to throw it over Board if he should be in Danger of being taken.

I have the honor to be etc.

Tho. S. Lee

Frederick William, Baron von Steuben (b. in Prussia 1730, d. in New York 1794) had been aide de camp to Frederick the Great, afterwards offering his services to the American colonies and was appointed Major General in the Continental Army.

He gave military training and discipline to the citizen soldiers who achieved the independence of the United States.

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head of Elk March 6th 1781

Sir,

I have received your Excellency's Letter of the 5th inst., and for the assurance it contains, beg leave to offer my very respectful acknowledgements.

If in the course of tomorrow, we can get a sufficiency of Vessels, I intend to embark the Troops immediately, but upon the intelligence we receive of British Privateers in the Bay, I more than ever feel the want of an Armed force for our security.

By a Letter from Baron De Steuben, I find he was not gone with the Detachment sent to the Southward; that General Officer is now preparing matters for the expedition, and as I expect also to hear from a Naval Officer in the same quarter, I beg leave to request, that any dispatch be sent to me with the greatest rapidity.

Having been told, that there was at Baltimore a number of heavy Peices, I could not help thinking, that six of the eighteen pounders, with 300 rounds each might be of service, but from the aversion I feel to give any

useless trouble to the State, I would only propose that they be put in readiness, as upon information from below we could better determine their utility.

With the greatest respect
I have the honor to be
your most obedient
Svt.

Lafayette

His Excellency
Governor Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ¹³
(New-York Historical Society)

Annapolis, In Council
March 7, 1781

Sir:

The Marquis Lafayette has requested this State to furnish armed Vessels for the Protection of the Transports and Troops under his Command, and destined for the Expedition against the Enemy at Portsmouth.

We have only been able to procure a Brig of fourteen fourpounders, a Schooner of eight threepounders, and a sloop loaded and bound to Sea, of ten threepounders.

From various accounts we are apprehensive this force is inferior to the Enemy's Privateers in the Bay.

We have wrote to the Commander of the Ships of our Ally at the Capes,¹⁴ and if he cannot spare one of his Vessels to convoy the Marquis, you will see the necessity of Your State immediately procuring a force, which in conjunction with ours, would certainly be superior to the Enemies Cruisers.

The Marquis with the Troops, Cannon and Stores, are now at Head of Elk.

We have impressed and sent to him every Vessel at Baltimore, and this place, and fear they will not be sufficient.

The Marquis has requested us to procure Boats to land the Cannon and Troops, which will not be in our Power, but we hope you will be able to obtain any number he may want.

General Wayne,¹⁵ with a second Detachment from the Pennsylvania Line, is expected at the Head of Elk, and he is to join the Marquis, as soon as Vessels can be procured to transport him to Portsmouth.

¹³ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 342, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 85-86.

¹⁴ Charles Hector, Count d'Estaing, French Admiral commanding the fleet sent over by our ally, France.

¹⁵ General Anthony Wayne, although ordered south by Washington as early as February of this year, 1781, with 1,000 men of the Pennsylvania Line, had trouble with disaffected soldiers, bordering on mutiny, and was not able to join Lafayette until June. See Wayne Papers, Phil. Casket, 1829.

We have therefore thought proper to give you this information, and at the same Time beg Leave to suggest the Propriety of your Strengthening the Convoy.

We have the honor to be
with very great Consideration
Yr. Excellency's mo. Ob^t. & mo. H^{ble} Servant
Thos. S. Lee

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁶
(Virginia State Library)

Richmond
March 12, 1781

Sir,

Your Excellency's Favor of the 7th came to Hand last night. We have been endeavoring to procure what armed vessels we could, but they are in James river, and of course cannot possibly get out of that river but under countenance of naval power superior to that of the Enemy, and indeed they are so trifling that they could not venture up the Bay, were they out of James river. From the best accounts I have received, the enemy have three ships of Force within the Bay, in addition to those Arnold had before; the French Squadron has withdrawn from the Bay some considerable Time.

We are doing our utmost to procure the boats necessary for landing the Cannon and Troops, that is, we are taking every one in James River, but they will fall very far short of what Baron Steuben deems necessary. The boats in the upper part of the river cannot navigate the lower Parts, nor can any be carried round from the other Rivers.

We feel ourselves so much interested in the Enterprize in contemplation, that we have set every Instrument into motion which can possibly avail us. Our exertions are much circumscribed by the want of means.

I have the Honor to be etc
Thomas Jefferson

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁷
(Virginia State Library)

In Council March 12, 1781

His Excellency Governor Lee—

Sir,

The prisoners of Convention, & those taken at the Cowpens, having been ordered, on the Approach of Lord Cornwallis, to move on to our Northern Boundary, while Congress could be consulted as to what should

¹⁶ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 118-119, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 131.

¹⁷ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 119, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 131-132.

be done with them, I have received a letter from the President from which the enclosed is extracted.¹⁸

They have, I believe, reached as far as Winchester, from which place they are now ordered to move into Kneelands Ferry, where the President in another letter informs me, your Excellency will have made Provision for subsisting them and quartering them further on.¹⁹

According to the Desire of Congress expressed in the President's letter, I have taken the liberty of Communicating this to your Excellency.

I have the Honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect
Sir,

Your, etc.

T. J.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON²⁰
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Annapolis, March 15, 1781

Sir,

The Arrival of our Express with your Excellency's Letter of the 12th this Moment received gives us an Opportunity of informing you that all the Transports with the Troops from Elk got safe into Harbour on Tuesday Evening. The next Morning at day Light two Ships apparently British of the rate of eighteen and twenty eight Guns came to an Anchor opposite to the Mouth of our River Severn at 12 o'clock they made Sail up the Bay and by the last Account were at Anchor near the north Point of the River Patapsco we judged that you would be anxious for the Safety of the Troops but they are fortunately safe and the armed Vessels which conveyed them down are prepared for Defence.

Your Favors of the 6 and 8th are come to Hand, and we thank you for your Intelligence respecting General Greene in that of the 8th.²¹

We are, with great Personal respect &
Esteem,

your Excellency's Mo. H^{le} Ser.

Tho. S. Lee

¹⁸ The enclosure (not located) was extracted from Jefferson to Samuel Huntington, March 4, 1781, Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 56.

¹⁹ See Huntington to Lee, March 4, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 105-106.

²⁰ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 352, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 150.

²¹ The letter of March 6, 1781, is printed in this installment; Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 150, did not locate a letter of March 8.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ²²
(Virginia State Library)

Annapolis 17 March, 1781

Sir.

We beg leave to refer your Excellency to our Letter of yesterday, giving a Short Account of the Transport and Troops from the Head of Elk being safe in this Harbour.

We shall adopt such Measures to guard and subsist the Convention Troops and British Prisoners captured in the Action of the Cowpens on their March through this State, as may be necessary and consonant to a Resolution of Congress of the 3d instant, and such as the Means in our Power may afford.²³

We have wrote to the President of Pennsylvania fully on the Subject of the March of these Troops.²⁴

Matters remain in the same State as yesterday respecting the British Ships and the Forces here. We are extremely anxious to hear from the Marquis and the Situation of the Southern Army.

We have the Honor to be
with great Consideration
your Excellency's Mo. Obd. & Mo Hble
Serv t

Tho. S. Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO ROBERT PURVIANCE, MATTHEW RIDLEY,
AND WILLIAM PATTERSON ²⁵
(Maryland Historical Society)
In Council

Annapolis 20th March 1781

Gentlemen

We received your letter of the 10th covering the Engagement of the Gentlemen of Baltimore and an Extract of a Letter from Mr. McHenry of the 6th.²⁶

We very much applaud the zeal and activity of the Gentlemen of Baltimore, and think their readiness to assist the execution at a Time when they were destitute of the means of providing those things which were immediately necessary for the Detachment under the Command of the Marquis de la Fayette justly entitles them to the thanks of the Public.

We cannot but approve of the Proceedings of those Gentlemen, and

²² Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 355, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 168-169.

²³ See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 229-230.

²⁴ Lee to Joseph Reed, March 16, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 353-354.

²⁵ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 358.

²⁶ Purviance *et al* to Lee, March 10, 1781, *ibid.*, XLVII, 115-116; the extract from McHenry's letter, *ibid.*, 116-117.

assure you we will adopt any expedient to prevent every Individual of that Body, from suffering, or being in the least embarrassed by his engagements for the State.

As soon as we are informed by the Committee of the amount of the Sum advanced by their Constituents and the extent of their Engagement to procure the numerous articles required for the use of the Detachment we will transmit orders for the Collector of Baltimore County for such a sum as will cover the whole.

We think it reasonable the State should pay the value of money advanced and interest thereon until paid, and do agree to pay the value with interest, to those Gentlemen who have made advances, and will give an Order on the Collector of Baltimore for their reimbursement.

We are, Gentlemen, with very great respect and Esteem

Your Mo. Obent Sernt

Thos. S. Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis February 18:th 1781

Sir:

Col^o. Luke Marbury who Was Made Prisoner at the battle of German Town, and still remains in the hands of the Enemy, expresses the utmost anxiety & Solicitude for a speedy release, his friends too, who are respectable are no less importunate for his return; and have repeatedly desired me to apply to your Excellency to favor him should an opportunity offer for exchanging Officers of his Rank.²⁷ As yet I believe none have Fallen into our hands that would apply, unless it should be those Tory Colonels lately taken at King's Mountain in Carolina. The peculiar Circumstances of this Gentleman are alone sufficient to recommend him to your Excellency's attention & if there should be no impropriety in the measure I flatter myself your Excellency will instruct Major General Greene on the Subject of negotiating the Desired exchange. It may not be improper to inform your Excellency that Col^o Marbury with a Competency has felt, in his present situation, the pressure of of indigence in addition to the rigour of a Close Confinement for a Considerable length of time after he was carried in Captivity & the Sufferings of his Wife & several small Children in his Absence has Contributed to increase his distresses.

With the highest personal Respect & esteem

I have the honor to be

Your Excell^y^s Mo. Obed^t.

Tho S. Lee

²⁷ Governor Lee wrote on this same subject to General Greene, Dec. 9, 1780, q. v.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ²⁸
(Outerbridge Horsey Collection)

Head Quarters
New Windsor [, N. Y.]
22 March, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency's favor of the 18th ulto. came to Head Quarters during my visit to Count de Rochambeau at Newport, from whence I only returned two days ago.

You may be assured that every attention shall be paid to the Exchange of Col. Marbury in his due turn, more than that I cannot promise without deviating from a Rule of Conduct which I myself have ever observed, and which has lately been confirmed by an order of Congress.

I have however the pleasure to learn that Col^o. Marbury is admitted to parole, and as he is, I believe, the oldest Officer of his rank unexchanged, I hope his final release will ere long be accomplished.

I do not know what Officers were taken at Kings Mountain or in any part of the Southern Quarter, but should a general exchange take place, due consideration will be had to the remaining prisoners at New York.

I have the Honor to be with very great Respect and Esteem

Your Excellency's Most ob^t Ser^{nt}
Go. Washington

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis March 31st 1781

Sir;

Count Chalus ²⁹ who does me the honor to bear this, gives me an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 22^d. Instant. Colonel Marbury is now with his family, on parole; and if I am rightly informed without limitation as to time: in that case, I have no doubt he is perfectly satisfied with the indulgence and will wait with patience & convenience his turn for exchange.

I have the honor to be
with Sentiments of perfect
Respect and Esteem
Your Excell^ys Mo. Hble Serv^t.

Tho. S. Lee

²⁸ Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXI, 353.

²⁹ Count Charlus de la Croix, son of the Minister of the French Navy, the Duc de Castries.

CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO THOMAS SIM LEE ³⁰
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Philadelphia, March 23,
1781

Sir,

I have just received the news of the arrival before long of a second Fleet, destined to co-operate with the forces of the Thirteen States, against our common enemy.

It is impossible to fix the time of its arrival on the shores of this Continent, but I presume that time will not be very far off, when you receive my letter.

I thought it my duty to share this news with Your Excellency but I beg you to make no use of it except to bolster up the courage of your fellow citizens in assuring them that they can count on the most efficacious assistance on the part of H[is]. M[ajesty]. without telling them the exact nature of the aid they will receive.

The cause of Independence cannot cease being dear to the King, and he is determined to make the greatest efforts to support it.

I have the honor to be with respectful attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's
Very humble and very obedient servant
Chevalier de La Luzerne

COLONEL HENRY LEE TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Dumfries, March 28th, 1781

Dear Sir,

I had the honor of your letter by Mr. Fitzbush.³¹ That gentleman's merit would of itself command my best services, but your recommendation added an obligation for my attention, which I shall consider indispensable.

Will you be pleased to inform me what time & which mode is most opportune for the settlement of the money advanced by the State of Maryland for the supply of horses to the Legion.

I beg my most profound respects to Mrs. Lee, & pray you to receive my best wishes for your health & happiness.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's
Most Attached & Obligated

Henry Lee Junr.

His Excellency Tho. S. Lee Esq.

³⁰ In French; translation by H. L. P. Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 143-144.

³¹ Son of Colonel William Fitzbush, before mentioned.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Baltimore 7th April 1781

Sir,—

The money to pay for the boats etc. mentioned in the letter²² written at the instance of the principal inhabitants of this Town is to be raised by a general subscription. Almost every one seems willing to be a contributor; and I dare say the result will be handsome provided it is carried under the present fears of the people.

I have taken the liberty to add this private letter, because I presume the money might be applyed to a more extensive purpose, comprehending all the objects of local or particular protection.

I mean that administration has it in it's power to employ it in the purchase and outfit of the galley at this place; and, these kind of war vessels, your Excellency knows, afford the only effectual security we can expect or provide.

I believe (I may however be deceived) that a proposition or hint from your Excellency or Council on this head, could turn the money that may be collected into this channel.

Perhaps it might even be obtained as a free gift.

With the greatest regard and esteem, I have the honor to be most respectfully,

Your Excellency's
Ob^t. & hble Ser.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Governor Lee

(To be continued in the December number.)

²² McHenry to Lee, April 7, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 167.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis. By MORRIS L. RADOFF.
Annapolis: Hall of Records, 1954. xi, 140 pp. \$3.

The Maryland Hall of Records Commission is to be congratulated that at last a competent historian, Dr. Radoff, the State Archivist, has given the citizens of the state a definitive history of the public buildings erected in Annapolis since its establishment as the capital of the province. The volume opens up vistas of information hidden in the Archives and the writings of the past, and makes fascinating reading for any true Marylander.

To place his work on a definitely historical basis, Dr. Radoff has read the Archives, whether published or not, and also searched for contemporary evidence in newspapers, letters, business accounts, the descriptions by visitors to the city, and the recollections of contemporaries, all judged as to their reliability with scholarly discrimination and presented with the author's characteristic genial wit and kindly sarcasm. He has even found evidence that we can refer to the Free School, as it was originally called, as King William School, although the more familiar term, King William's School, was also, perhaps more frequently, employed.

The book teems with hitherto little-known data. For instance, the first State House is shown to have also served as the courthouse of Anne Arundel County and as the city hall of Annapolis. The second State House, begun in 1772, had a small cupola, or dome, on it until 1785, when the present more impressive and more beautiful dome was begun, to be finished on the exterior by 1788, and its interior by 1793. There are also included the stories of the prison at the foot of Prince George Street, ruined by Continental soldiers, the building of Bladen's Folly, destined to become McDowell Hall, and the original Governor's Mansion, erected on a site now within the Naval Academy grounds, and confiscated by the new state government from Governor Eden.

On the State House grounds have existed, but now disappeared, a Parade Ground, King William's School, the Armory, where public balls, such as the one preceding Washington's resignation, were held, a Market House, a Repository for the Old Records, a Powder House, a Methodist Meeting House, also called the Old Blue Church, an Octagonal Annex to the rear of the present Old State House, a rectangular Library also in the rear, and a Gun House, besides other less important structures, all this discussed with documentary proof and many pictures. Even the three erections of St. Anne's Church, till the Revolution a public structure, are included.

The question of the original architect of the 1772 State House is discussed but left unsettled till future evidence appears, but Joseph Clark is

proved to have been the later architect, and Charles Wallace the "undertaker," or contractor, for the whole building. There is also new light thrown on the various sets of furniture provided for the Old Senate Chamber, especially the fact that the set John Shaw made in 1797 could not have been the pieces that were there when Washington resigned his commission. Even John Shaw's work was given away about 1810 to John Needles, who furnished a replacement and took them as part payment.

Of the forty-three illustrations, seventeen have unfortunately had to be reconstructions drawn by Elizabeth L. Ridout from contemporary descriptions, but they help the reader to visualize what buildings now gone may have looked like. Perhaps the other illustrations should have been definitely labelled with their dates of execution, as the book will doubtless serve for many years as the authoritative work on the subject. But this is a minor blemish on what is probably the most important work on Maryland history published this year.

WALTER B. NORRIS

Arthur Pue Gorman. By JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. ix, 397 pp. \$6.

Professor Lambert shows conclusively that Arthur Pue Gorman deserved a biography long ago. Here is a little known Marylander who was one of the most powerful political figures in the nation in the late 19th century and who from 1875 to 1906 was the unmistakable leader of the Democratic party in Maryland. In disclosing much of the inner workings of state and national politics during the period, the author has rendered valuable service.

To indicate the need of this biography, the reviewer has made a spot check of eight highly regarded college textbooks in American history. Only one goes beyond mentioning Gorman's connection with the Wilson-Gorman tariff. Readily available information in Maryland references is likewise scarce.

Writing on Gorman was not an easy task, due to the fact he was "modest to the point of self-effacement," made few speeches, recorded little, and generally worked behind the scenes. Consequently, Professor Lambert has not been able to satisfy himself or the reader on all points. Conjecture, of necessity, is employed at times, but not to the point of interrupting seriously the flow of scholarly presentation. It is essentially a political biography for Gorman's life was chiefly political. His career included service as United States Senate page, subordinate Senate offices, collector of internal revenue, member of both houses of the Maryland legislature, President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and United States Senator. There was a "Gorman boom" for the Presidency in 1892 and his name was mentioned again in 1904.

Professor Lambert lists his subject's major achievements: "his opposition to Radicalism, his businesslike administration of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, his concern for an intelligent electorate, his efforts to curb the special

privileges of railroads and corporations, his fight against the Force Bill, his unhysterical approach to the free silver controversy, his conservative attitude toward tariff reform, and his abiding distrust of imperialism." Nevertheless, Lambert admits Gorman left a rather "barren record" in public service. Principally he was a great political manager, operating by standards of his day—a machine boss of the type generally not publicly condoned today. He was cool, charming, and imperturbable. His "Old Guard" organization (the "ring" to his enemies) was built upon unshakeable loyalty of party lieutenants who except for Barnes Compton were unknown nationally. Others were Michael Bannon, Jesse K. Hines, Levin W. Woolford, Thomas J. Keating, and later Elihu E. Jackson and John Walter Smith.

Little known events and major political fights are discussed, such as the struggle between the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, between the latter and the Pennsylvania Railroad. Gorman's innovation of the "stenographic trailer," or spy, is mentioned. From one of these came the famed three "R's"—Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion—upon which Gorman as Cleveland's campaign manager in 1884 capitalized greatly. Gorman's bitter fights with the Sun-papers and his influence in the United States Senate are detailed.

In general, Gorman is treated kindly by Lambert who appraises him largely by standards of Gorman's day. Many of Gorman's actions would be ruled out today by Corrupt Practices Acts and a more enlightened citizenry. Gorman was a practical politician who knew the tricks and employed them as he desired, who avoided extremes, and who fought reform directly and indirectly. Severn Teackle Wallis called him a "base-born hero," but upon protest of the "Old Guard" changed it to "paste-board hero."

Professor Lambert generally has employed the materials at his disposal in a skillful manner and is to be commended for helping to fill this void in Maryland and national history.

CHARLES B. CLARK

Washington College

George Washington's America. By JOHN TEBBEL. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1954. 478 pp. \$5.

On pages 11 and 12 of the "Introduction" to this work will be found statements by the author which make clear its primary purpose. He says very frankly that "the book is not intended for either scholars or students" but is designed, rather, to make the traditional classroom pictures of George Washington "come alive" in accordance with the findings and revelations of recent research. Using the skills of both the novelist and the historian Mr. Tebbel has certainly done this most effectively.

The abundance of local and personal details, unfamiliar and quite meaningless to the average reader, may tend to make the work seem to him

somewhat repetitious and boring in style. Nevertheless, the net impression which such a reader will gain will be that of a refreshingly new, different, and more realistic picture of Washington. Here he appears, quite justly, as the greatest of our national heroes but not as a faultless idol to be worshipped by his countrymen. Indeed, it may be said that perhaps the finest contribution which Mr. Tebbel makes through this work is to be found in the great care which he has taken to point out, most distinctly, those aspects of Washington's character and life which reveal him as having been so completely human. Even so, the careful reader will discover in these pages more than a trace of hero-worship despite the author's obvious effort to achieve complete objectivity.

The entire work is divided into five parts which are very carefully organized around Washington's travels and most significant experiences. The presentation of "A Washington Chronology" and a carefully selected list of "Reference Notes" after the text relieves the work of stilted formality and more than compensates for the absence of the usual form of documentation. Anyone who reads *Washington's America* will be richly rewarded through the many fresh and intimate pictures of both Washington and the America which he saw and knew so well. He will also be strongly impressed with the meticulous and painstaking research which Mr. Tebbel has put into the preparation of this timely volume. However, one may wonder about the author's choice of a title. Since George Washington, rather than America, is the major theme of the work, although both are very competently dealt with, perhaps a happier choice of a title might have been made.

A map indicating the travels of Washington and some of the houses in which he lived completes a volume which, in spite of a somewhat confusing chronological pattern, admirably accomplishes its stated purpose. In so doing it makes a distinct contribution to the literature dealing with the life of Washington and with the geographic, economic, and social conditions of 18th America.

E. M. COLEMAN

Morgan State College

The Chesapeake Affair of 1807. By JOHN C. EMMERSON, JR. Portsmouth, Va., 1954. 223 pp. \$4.50.

In *The Chesapeake Affair of 1807* Mr. Emmerson has succeeded in doing two things which, in combination, are rare in historical writing: using only original source material he has told a story of an important incident in the nation's early history so completely and in such detail that it need never be done again; and at the same time has arranged his material in such orderly manner as to produce a most entertaining and readable narrative.

The "affair," it will be recalled, occurred at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay when "his Britannick Majesty's ship *Leopard*," failing a demand for surrender of four seamen aboard the U. S. Frigate *Chesapeake*, unex-

pectedly opened fire, forcing the American warship to strike her colors—a national humiliation.

The bulk of the material for the story was obtained from the files of Norfolk newspapers of that period; from the court-martial proceedings of the officers involved; United States and British naval documents bearing on the incident; and public and private papers and letters. The numerous illustrations are from government and private collections, museums, and historical societies in this country and Great Britain. The completeness of the index is an especially pleasing feature.

A native of Portsmouth, Virginia, Mr. Emerson devotes much of his time to local historical research. This combing of old papers and documents has resulted in the publication of several valuable reference works, notably *The Steam-Boat Comes to Norfolk Harbor*; the volume in review, however, is his first which deals with an event of national significance.

RALPH J. ROBINSON

Baltimore Association of Commerce

Letters of Noah Webster. Edited by HARRY R. WARFEL. New York: Library Publishers, 1953. xlvii, 562 pp. \$7.50.

This volume is a valuable addition to the editor's own biography of Noah Webster. The wide range of Webster's interests is well illustrated by this judicious selection of his letters. One is impressed by his persistent, life-long labors in grammar, spelling, philology, and in dictionary making. Financial embarrassment and failure to secure sponsors in advance for his monumental "An American Dictionary of the English Language" (1828) could not stop him. It is regrettable, however, that he was so extremely touchy and tactless in dealing with critics and with the works of Samuel Johnson, Thomas Dilworth, and Robert Lowth.

Of almost equal interest are Webster's political views. He was an ardent nationalist in the 1780's and a prominent Federalist editor in the 1790's. His many letters to Oliver Wolcott, Rufus King, and Timothy Pickering show his close association with these leading Federalists. Strangely enough for one so vitally interested in popular education, Webster shared the prejudices of the Federalists concerning the political abilities of the "common man." Late in life, as a Whig, he expressed these views to Daniel Webster (no relation) in 1834 and in 1837, even going so far as to favor a more conservative electorate for the Senate than the state legislatures.

Noah Webster's nationalism was as literary as political in spirit. He presaged Emerson in urging literary independence from England. As early as 1783 he wrote: "America must be as independent in *literature* as she is in *politics*, as famous for *arts* as for *arms*; and it is not impossible but a person of my youth may have some influence in exciting a spirit of literary industry" (p. 4). In 1806, concerning the reception of his early Dictionary, he claimed that "the question at issue is whether an *American*

citizen shall be permitted to correct and improve English books or whether we are bound to receive whatever the English give us" (p. 269). The next year, writing to his college classmate, the poet and publicist Joel Barlow, he declared: "My plan has been to furnish our schools with a tolerably complete system of elementary knowledge in books of my own, gradually substituting American books for English and weaning our people from their prejudices and from their confidence in English authority" (p. 296).

The Introduction by the editor gives a much better idea of the diversity of Webster's interests than this brief review. The location of the manuscript or printed source of each letter is indicated. The List of Persons Mentioned is very helpful.

JAMES B. RANCK

Hood College

The Fremantle Diary. Edited by WALTER LORD. Boston: Little, Brown, 1954. xv, 304 pp. \$4.

On March 2, 1863, Lieutenant Colonel Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, of H. M. Coldstream Guards, left England on a postman's holiday, having obtained leave to see at first hand the American Civil War. Like a good tourist, he kept a diary of his journey, which began at the Rio Grande and carried him through most of the southern states and into every major theater of the War. The diary went through one British and three American printings in 1863 and 1864, but has not been available since that time until now.

Colonel Fremantle traveled by horse, carriage, rail, steamer, and on foot, noting and commenting shrewdly upon agriculture, industry, frontier life, mores, and of course the War. His first meeting with lynch law came within three hours of his landing in America, and is related dispassionately as are his reactions to other American institutions from tobacco chewing, "The spitting was sometimes a little wild," to the "American Cotillion," as he called the square dance. He was a good traveler and described with more amusement than annoyance the misadventures of the road. His narrative is direct, and at times laconic, as in this paragraph:

"Mr. Ituria and I left for Brownsville at noon. A buggy is a gig on four wheels."

Despite his abhorrence of slavery, which he recognized as a minor issue in the struggle, Fremantle brought to America an open mind. As he traveled from army to army, however, through Jackson, Shelbyville, Charleston, and on to Gettysburg where he watched the battle from his perch in the tree under which Lee, Hill, Longstreet, and Hood were conferring, his sympathies turned to the gallant officers whose hardships he had shared, and when he parted from Lee at Hagerstown, he was convinced of the righteousness of the Southern cause. Although he saw and recorded the weaknesses of the South, the scarcity of ammunition, the

failure of conscription, the effects of the blockade, he failed to recognize the inevitability of Union victory, and left New York convinced that his friends could not be conquered. Nevertheless, his sojourn of more than three months resulted in a very readable diary, and the student will find valuable material in the observations of a British officer upon the conduct of the Civil War.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

Americans Interpret Their Civil War. By THOMAS J. PRESSLY. Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. xvi, 247 pp. \$5.

It is a truism long recognized that works of history often reveal as much about the period in which they are written as about the period with which they purport to deal. In this scholarly, judicious, and very readable survey Professor Pressly demonstrates that this has been strikingly true of the treatment of the American Civil War. He very clearly sketches the lines by which the wartime Northern interpretation of the conflict as the product of a conspiratorial slaveholders rebellion and the Southern contention that it was a defense against an aggressive coalition of states, beside a third (or Copperhead) view that the war was the creation of a small group of fanatics on each side, have all come down to us in somewhat modified or elaborated form in the historiography of our own time. After 1880 the movement to industrialize the New South and the Northern abandonment of defense of the Negro's constitutional rights permitted a common meeting ground in the works of James Ford Rhodes, which repudiated both secession and Radical reconstruction. Twentieth century currents of economic determinism produced the interpretation of Charles A. Beard and the dogmatic distortions of the Marxists.

The fitting of human beings, including historians, and their ideas into neat categories sometimes requires a bit of trimming, and some of those still about and able to speak for themselves will no doubt protest that their views have been distorted by oversimplification. On the whole, however, this is not only a first-rate study in itself but may serve as a chastening reminder to the historian in any field that he must ever be alert to keep subjective elements out of his work. History is a discipline which demands a dedicated objectivity of its membership.

WOOD GRAY

George Washington University

Era of the Oath. By HAROLD M. HYMAN. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. 229 pp. \$5.

Loyalty, generally rather a vague sentiment, is likely to become in times of stress synonymous with a narrow conformity and a majority patriotism. A popular test of patriotism in such periods has been the taking of a

loyalty oath to the government. This was the case during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, just as it has been true of the years of the First and Second World Wars. Yet, as Professor Hyman's book covering the earlier of these periods demonstrates, it is neither easy nor practicable to enforce loyalty by means of a test oath. The people of Maryland, a key border state, were particularly affected by the conflicting concepts of loyalty and attempts to enforce patriotism that were occasioned by the Civil War. Faced with a massive rebellion, the federal government not unnaturally required of all its employees loyalty oaths attesting to a past and future allegiance to the Union. Whether such oaths exposed wartime disloyalty or insured continued patriotism is doubtful. In any case the graver problems arose after the conclusion of hostilities, when one might have supposed that the question of loyalty or disloyalty had been settled. The postwar imposition of an ironclad oath, enjoining Southerners to swear not only their future allegiance to the Constitution but their past loyalty as well, could only have the effect of disfranchising and excluding from federal office all ex-Confederates. This was no doubt the intention of the Radical Republicans, and the oath was an important means toward their end of the Radical Reconstruction of the South. But, at the same time, it was a formidable barrier to the reconciliation of the sections and to the reconstitution of the Union on terms that did not depend upon a Northern military occupation. Under growing attack from Southerners, Democrats, and liberals, the loyalty tests of the Civil War were finally repealed in 1884, almost a generation after the last gun had been fired.

Professor Hyman tells this whole story well with a wealth of detailed documentation, much of it from official government records. Though he calls his book *Era of the Oath*, the oath as a test of loyalty was but one of the examples of the intolerant nationalism fostered by the great civil conflict. The volume itself will probably appeal chiefly to scholars and specialists in the Civil War period, but it raises questions in regard to loyalty, and political tests thereof, which have a wider import and a strong general interest in our own times.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History. By JAMES D. HORAN.
New York: Crown Publishers, 1954. xxii, 326 pp. \$5.

In March, 1864, the Confederate States tried to overthrow the Federal government by the inauguration of a reign of terror in a desperate plan to end the war in a Southern military victory. It was, according to Mr. Horan, "a grand conspiracy," which stirred up a great deal of trouble in the North, but somehow the whole plan failed and nothing too important resulted from it.

The "Confederate Agent" in the story was Capt. Thomas H. Hines who had been commissioned to mastermind the project. He was the ideal man for the assignment. Although he did not succeed, he did create extensive havoc during the final year of the Civil War.

Mr. Horan has told an exciting story of this bizarre and fantastic episode. He has drawn most of his information from the Baker-Turner Papers at the National Archives, sealed from 1864 to 1953. He has thoroughly documented this book and has illustrated it profusely with rare photographs and sketches. Of value to American historiography is his introductory chapter "The Author's Search for Secret History." In spite of these admirable qualities, however, this book was a disappointment, for after reading George Milton's *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* and Wood Gray's *The Hidden Civil War*, the story is neither as sensational nor so unknown as the author has claimed it to be. The first part of the book was not quite as well written as it should have been. At the same time, however, the author has tied up all the loose ends of the previously incompletely told story of the plan to destroy the Union through conspiracy and violence. It is an invaluable contribution to the ever-growing literature of the Civil War era.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Library of Congress

A Guide To The Principal Sources For Early American History (1600-1800) In The City Of New York. By EVARTS B. GREENE and RICHARD B. MORRIS. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1953. xxxvi, 400 pp. \$10.

Originally published in 1929 by co-inventory takers Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris, this standard work is the Baedeker for those who tour our colonial past. Revised by Professor Morris, the second edition includes a substantial amount of historical material which had been uncovered in the intervening quarter century.

Historians are well aware of the research facilities at Columbia University, the New-York Historical Society, and the New York Public Library. These, of course, are the major arsenals, containing the largest and most valuable artillery. But there are over thirty other institutions in New York City with indispensable small-arms for researchers. An introduction to the present volume lists these institutions and indicates, in general, the scope and nature of colonial sources housed in each. Following this, Part I details the printed primary sources, and Parts II and III the manuscript collections. These sections are again subdivided—and herein lies the real value of this book—into dozens of categories which pinpoint material for scholars. At a glance, for example, one can see what is available (and where) on business or church or legal history, on inter-colonial wars, on education or science or philosophy, on individual colonies and states, etc.

These classifications are the difference between mere compilation and true editing. Other guides—and this work is but a guide—could profit by imitation.

MORTON BORDEN

Ohio State University

Index, Volumes 1-6, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Compiled by ELIZABETH J. SHERWOOD and IDA T. HOOPER. Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. vii, 229 pp. (Distributed without charge to subscribers.)

Memo to Librarians: When the consolidated index to the *Jefferson Papers* reaches you a decade or so hence, save the "Foreword" in this, the first of several temporary indexes to be issued in the meantime. Critical attention is not often given to the indexing of anything. In this case we have the benefit of the judgment of the editors of this important enterprise. Especially noteworthy are the decisions to eliminate volume-by-volume indexes that would consume much space and would be of little value when the cumulative volumes are ready; the preparation of temporary indexes to cover periods of the subject's life rather than an arbitrary numbers of volumes; and the assumption that users may be able to discover errors or suggest improvements before the permanent index is printed. Many, in the future, no doubt, will want to review these and related decisions when preparations for other large projects are underway.

Chesapeake Cove. By GILBERT BYRON. Easton: Easton Publ. Co., 1953. 57 pp. \$2.

A salt wind blows through the pages of this book as the author brings to us with exquisite perception and sincerity the lovely tributaries of the Chesapeake and its coves. We hear the rhythm of oars dipping the water, the sobbing of wild geese on a stormy winter morning, the black duck's call. In these poems we share the author's delight in the sting of a summer sou'wester tossing the bay, bending the marsh-grass, rocking the sea-gulls, and a gentler wind filling the sails of buckeye and schooner; in the stern old heron stalking the edge of the creek, and the great swan winging high above the steeple of the village church. With him we search for partridge berries stippling with scarlet the wooded gulley and for the "color of a soft crab's claw." We meet his friends—and like them: Old Hewes propping the salty grasses of his cove, Captain Jump with one good eye "but he sees plenty," gaunt harsh hip-booted Bill who hunts muskrats, and six-foot-four Myrie who works on the creek farm.

These are lyrics of beauty and quiet humor, with a warm deep feeling for the Chesapeake country and the watermen who reside there. It is a book to keep on a bed-side table and to open again and again with keen anticipation.

HELEN BAYLEY DAVIS

Crimson is the Eastern Shore. By DON TRACY. New York, Dial Press, 1953. viii, 440 pp. \$3.50.

Historical novels are always of interest because of their unusual combination of historical fact and fiction. This one, by the author of *Chesapeake Cavalier* (that dealt successfully with the William Claiborne story), has as its theme the Miles River and Talbot County plantation life during the War of 1812. This novel can be praised for the picture of social life that it portrays in one of the periods of national crises of the United States. Mr. Tracy has used the battles of Queenstown and Caulk's Field and other actions in Maryland as a basis for his novel. But the characters from fiction are so strong and boldly outlined and the action so moving as to detract from what merit can be gained from true history being used in such a work. The portrayal of true historical personages like Admiral Cockburn, Lieutenant Dobson, and General Benson, is overshadowed by that of the swashbuckling and immoral fictional characterizations of Anthony Worth and his overseer, Will Roan.

The book has much unpleasant detail and a rather complicated plot. The result is far from the calibre of historical novels of such persons in the field as Francis Parkinson Keyes or Inglis Fletcher. Mr. Tracy's dramatic abilities tend to make his characters vivid and outstanding. His novel sets a pace that seldom falters into description of customs or places. His coloring is marked. Historically correct in his factual material Mr. Tracy in his novel, *Crimson is the Eastern Shore*, has presented a fast-moving, if not altogether pleasant, picture of Eastern Shore life during the War of 1812.

RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

*Wintertbur Program,
University of Delaware*

The Garling Family from 1751 to 1953. By PAUL E. GARLING. Chambersburg, Pa.: Kerr Printing Co., 1954. 193 pp. \$8.

This work is the result of the labors of the great-great-grandson of the Greencastle, Pa., farmer, Jacob Garling, whose descendants have assisted the present resident of Washington County to compile a lengthy, if skeletonized, family history. Mr. Garling has enlivened a bare text with some dozen photographs, mostly of buildings, a feature too often lacking in genealogical texts.

Needless to say, such a book is useful to persons named "Garling," whether or not they are included, but, like all useful family histories, it will be enjoyed by anyone whose last name is "Angle," "Bear," "Brewer," "Eyerly," "Miller," "Myers," "Royer," "Snider," and the always ubiquitous "Smith." An adequate index and a fairly simple generation numbering make the book useful for quick reference, as every such work should be.

Users of *The Garling Family* should be warned, however, that the

author plainly states that he publishes much of what is here "as it was passed onto us by the various families." There are only 21 pages of published proof from the Pennsylvania archives. Naturally, the present reviewer regrets that details from Maryland records were not used (or quoted), for with Jacob Garling's third child, the scene shifts to this State.

ROGER THOMAS

Hall of Records, Annapolis

Lieut. Samuel Smith His Children and One Line of Descendants and Related Families. By JAMES WILLIAM HOOK. New Haven, 1953. v, 377 pp.

This book contains accounts of forty-five American settlers and of those descendants who were forbears of the compiler's grandchildren. The Samuel Smith discussed came to New England in 1634, settling in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and Hadley, Massachusetts. The account of his life and of the families of his children are most detailed. Special consideration is given to the Smith descendants of Granby, Massachusetts, including Chloe (Smith) Hayes, grandmother of former President Rutherford B. Hayes. Most of the other lines dealt with relate also to the families of New England settlers. There is, however, an account of one line of descendants of the Maryland colonist, Thomas Hook (e). The book, which is based in part on prior work of the same author, shows the results of much careful research and analysis, particularly in the treatment of the difficult-to-untangle New England Smiths.

MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR.

National Archives

The History of Oheb Shalom, 1853-1953. By LOUIS F. CAHN. Baltimore: The Congregation, 1953. 72 pp.

The Congregation of Oheb Shalom has published this handsome little volume in celebration of its centennial. Complete with maps and photographs, it gives a history of the congregation and its buildings together with brief biographies of many of the people connected with it and a look at the times and circumstances in which the Congregation developed. This account should be a useful addition not only to the history of Jews in Baltimore, but to the history of the city itself.

Jeffersonian America: Notes on the United States of America Collected in the Years 1805-6-7 and 11-12 by Sir Augustus John Foster, Bart.
Edited by RICHARD B. DAVIS. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1954. xx, 356 pp. \$6.

"It has been the fate of the United States of America to be described by the travellers who have visited them in either very glowing terms of praise or of abuse and contempt," Sir Augustus commented, reading Mrs. Trollope and the rest. And he thought his own conscientious notes, even though made years before when he was at the British Embassy in Washington, would enable him to write the first balanced book about America.

Naturally, he did not altogether succeed. He knew too much about Washington for impersonal perspective and too little about states like Georgia and Mississippi to mention them at all. (But he did.) He made mistakes—though his editor, who makes some himself in the footnotes, should not be so stern about it. His description of Annapolis, for instance, suffers from his incorrect remembering that the houses there were "generally three stories high. . . ." Nor are his opinions of the people he knew, like Jefferson himself and Randolph of Roanoke, always the historically accepted ones; and, as Mr. Davis points out, he "gave undue weight to the wrong things as basic causes of the War of 1812."

None of this is seriously prejudicial to Sir Augustus' authorship in modern eyes. *Jeffersonian America* will, it is presumed, come into the hands not of general readers but people with considerable knowledge of its subject already, unlikely to be led astray by any one contemporary judgment. If like all *pars fui* commentators Sir Augustus has the defects of his virtues, the virtues are very positive ones. List among them intelligence with sincerity, malice toward none and charity toward all, a lucid, reasonable, often quotable style, an eye for color like Indians and Dunkards and epidemics, an ear for detail like the Baltimore Bird and the "small end of a ham . . . familiarly called Maryland," the ability to attract and therefore quote from and describe the very people we want to hear about, and the ability to attract posthumously a really excellent editor and prefacer.*

ELLEN HART SMITH

* Foster's description of Maryland was published in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (Dec., 1952), 283-296.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TRAVEL EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF ALEXANDER RANDALL, 1830-1831

Edited by RICHARD H. RANDALL

The extracts which follow were taken from the first of several volumes of a journal kept by Alexander Randall (1803-1881) of Annapolis. In these passages he records events of a trip through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal while enroute to upstate New York and an excursion from Washington, D. C., to the Great Falls of the Potomac. His descriptions and comments on canals, the new railroad, fads among sculptors, and drama in Baltimore are not without interest to students of Maryland history. Where possible, identifications have been supplied, and omissions are indicated.

Alexander Randall was born in Annapolis and was graduated from St. John's College in 1822. Two years later he was admitted to the bar. He served one term (1841-1843) in the House of Representatives, was a delegate to the 1850 constitutional convention, served as Attorney General of the State for several years in the 1860s and was president of the Farmer's National Bank and a vestryman of St. Anne's Church.

The original journal is in the possession of the family.

" Baltimore May 22nd 1830

" I this day left Annapolis at 1/2 past 2 o'clock. PM & arrived here about 1/2 past 6. PM distance thirty miles fare one dollar paid Porter 25 cents. I drew from the Bank \$150. for my expenses on the north trip which I have then commenced—I spent this evening at Mr. Wirt's.¹ It being now 12 o'clock. I shall let what has been said suffice

" Baltimore May 23rd 1830

" This has been a cold rainy day for the whole spent rather disagreeably—I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Breckenridge² in Mr. Norris'

² Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge (1800-1871), pastor of Second Presbyterian Church. Church this morning. . . .

" Philadelphia May 24th 1830 (Monday)

" I left Baltimore this morning, after paying my bill \$2.87 1/2, for the Carroll [of Carroll] to[n] steam Boat plying to the Chesapeake & Dela-

¹ William Wirt, the former Attorney General of the United States, whose daughter, Catherine G. Wirt, he married in 1841.

ware canal.³ This vessel appears to be one of the finest on the Bay as to size speed and accommodations. She left the Baltimore wharf at 6 A. M. with about 80. We breakfasted on board and about 11 A. M. arrived at Chesapeake City, composed at present of two or three houses. This place is 65 miles from Baltimore and $3\frac{1}{2}$ above the mouth of back Creek where the Canal commences. In a few minutes we had all the passengers & baggage transferred to the Canal barge & were again progressing on our journey. The manner of drawing these Canal boats somewhat surprised me. Each barge has a tow line of about 50 yards in length fastened about $\frac{1}{3}$ from the bow to the other end of which 5 horses one before the other are attached, the 1st or 2nd and the 5th horses only have positions on them—These horses draw at a moderate gait sometimes a pace at others a trot sufficient however to enable the boat to keep at the rate of about 7 miles per hour. The whole distance of the Canal is $14\frac{1}{4}$ miles and requires three sets of horses for the whole voyage.

"When we meet a vessel the rule having established which is to give way no difficulty occurred, for the vessel entitled to the preference continues as usual but the other when the horses of the vessel met checked its velocity & drew in the tow line made slack by the horses' stopping till our vessel came very near, the slack line was then thrown overboard & our vessel passed over it—

"I was surprised at finding so little of this canal entirely artificial, at least 10 miles of its route is thro' the creeks & ponds which previously existed & not more than 4 miles is dug thro' dry land. These four miles however must have occasioned an immense labor as the depth of the cut was for miles in extent 70 feet deep & for some distance it equalled 90 feet, & the soil thro' which part was carried required the labor apparently to receive a permanent foundation for the tow path. The greatest depth of the excavation is 90 feet. The Canal is 60 feet wide at top & 40 at bottom. There are two canal locks and two tide locks on the whole canal. One of the canal locks retains the water above the Chesapeake about 8 feet the other lowers the vessel about same distance into the [*sic*] a branch of the Delaware River. The tide locks are to be used only when the tides make them necessary which is seldom. Various expedients are used to prevent the banks of the excavation washing down. The banks when high a[re] divided into several declivities so as to prevent an accumulation of water. These banks are in many places thatched with straw in others filled with strips of plank to prevent an accumulation of water—and thro the different declivities are troughs of wood leading to the canal to prevent washings—We meet with neither obstruction nor delay from bridges on this canal. The first and third bridges are at the Locks & are turned to the side on a pivot by a long lever with care and despatch by a single man—the second & only remaining bridge is about 80 feet above the canal—When we entered the Canal

³ See advertisement in the *Baltimore American*, May 14, 1830, p. 1, col. 1, and announcement on p. 2, col. 6. The ship left the wharf at Light and Pratt streets.

barge we were eight feet above the level of the Chesapeake. We continued at this level till we arrived at St. Georges Town a distance of about 6 miles. Then we were lowered down about 6 or 7 feet and continued on that level till we reached the Delaware City—So that there is but one lock and ⁴ by the Canal barge it never having to enter either the Chesapeake or Delaware—From this it will be seen that a cut of eight or ten feet would make the Canal navigable without locks. The Canal is now at bottom on a level with the C. & D.⁵ and a cut of that depth would be sufficient to give the canal a supply of water from those bays and the same depth it now has. Indeed for many purposes the Canal need not [be] more than depth of 8 feet as the barges draw when loaded deeply but 28 inches—The cost of this additional depth could not be great in comparison for the principal cause of the enormous labor of this canal was the formation of a solid foundation for the tow line that has now been effected & could scarcely be injured by deepening the canal. I do not know however that the cost of this change could be justified by the advantages likely to accrue there from or the difficulties & delays of the present arrangements.

"At Delaware City (which is about a mile below the celebrated work called Fort Delaware just completed & said capable of mounting 300 guns) we got on board the Wm. Penn another fine vessel rather inferior however to the Carroll. In this vessel we continued up the Delaware stopping at Chester & Marcus Hook to receive passengers. Wilmington about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the River was in full view from the Boat as also was the residence of Com. Porter a beautiful brick Building painted yellow—We saw the Com. standing at his front door.⁶

"On board of this vessel we dined with about 80 passengers. The dinner was excellent & afforded us the first opportunity of eating lobster. This fish is much inferior to our crab—It is worthy of remark that at this table there was not one drop of spirituous liquor drank to the best of my knowledge & I took all pains to know the fault—most drank water—a few ale—none any thing []⁷ not even wine. So much perhaps for "Temperance Societies." I do not know by the bye what to think of those *moral* men who declaim against such attempts to reform mankind—of this however again—

We arrived in this vessel at the Philadelphia wharf about 6 P. M. performing the voyage from Delaware City to Philadelphia in about four hours, a distance of about forty eight miles.

"The fare from Baltimore to Philadelphia \$3. Meals 87 cts—Visited the Philadelphia Arcade this evening—a building intended to immitate the Bygones of Turkey. These buildings have two stories of open shops. They are made of a succession of arches having on each side of the

⁴ The meaning is: There is only one lock to be negotiated by the canal barge; the barge does not have to enter either the Bay or the River.

⁵ That is, on a level with the Bay and the River.

⁶ David Porter (1780-1843). The house undoubtedly was "Greenbank," a wedding present from his father-in-law, in Chester, Pennsylvania.

⁷ One word not deciphered.

avenue rooms fitted up for stores. In this there was a great variety of all kinds of merchandise tastefully arranged surrounded with buyers & sellers & as the whole was glaringly illuminated from one street quite thru to the other it had a very []^s & quite pleasing effect. In this establishment too we saw Peale's Museum. Here was that eternal variety of all the animals that now do, or even did exist, & perhaps we have some few there to which Dame Nature herself would require an introduction—add to them all the other inhabitants of Museums such as Paintings, Statues, Fossils &c. &c. &c. & I can imagine a better description than more time than I can now spare from the actual vision of all these "sights" will enable me to write down. . . .

" Philadelphia May 25th 1830 (Tuesday)

". . . I could not but remark the ridiculous propensity of modern Artists in Stone to imitate the models of the Ancients in the costume of their nations even when an individual of our own time whom we know dressed in our own fashions is to be represented. This was called to my attention by seeing a statue of Franklin in the dress of the Caesars. . . .

" June 4th 1830 Friday

" Left Philadelphia at 6 o'clock A. M. for Baltimore. The early part of this day was very unpleasant caused by the rain & mist. About noon however it became clear & before our arrival in Baltimore we had as clear a sky as it there had never been a cloud.

" The passage thro' the Canal tho' not so novel as before was not without its attractions, included such stupendous undertakings which seem to set nature's determinations at defiance cannot but give us grand conceptions of our nature. We were ably landed in Baltimore about 7 o'clock. P. M. . . .

" Annapolis Tuesday 17th May 1831

" This morning I returned home from an absence since the 4th instant—on that day I went to Baltimore in the Steam Boat⁹ and remained till Monday the 9th when I went to Washington in the Stage—remained in W. till Monday the 16th whence I arrived in Baltimore—& returned thence today—

My indolence or perhaps in part my attention to other matters, the causes of my trip, prevented me from paying any attention to this book. I shall now write down a few particulars relative to my absence.

I was induced by the persuasion of friends to attend the Theatre in Bal-

⁸ One word not deciphered.

⁹ The Steamboat *Franklin* served the Annapolis-Baltimore area; see *American*, May 17, 1831, p. 1, col. 1.

timore in order to see the performance of the Irish Boy, Martin Burke—with which I was greatly & unexpectedly delighted.¹⁰ This child (I cannot call him with propriety a youth) is said to be about 19 years of age & really his appearance *when in his own character* would convey the impression that he had not attained that age—and yet he is a most correct and entertaining Performer both in Comedy & Tragedy—his voice is distinct & loud having just so much of the boy's as to prevent its being taken for that of an adult with most of the clearness [?] & fullness which rarely are possessed till manhood. His action & manner are natural & appropriate, sometimes rather over-wrought but never disgustingly so. He is always fully prepared with his parts, & even makes occasionally ludicrous & suitable interliniation of his own composition. Moreover this child is a remarkably skillful performer on the violin, so much so that he leads the orchestra in some fine pieces operatic [?] between the parts. He is well skilled in the science operatic [?] and harmony other accomplishments none of which are commonly attained by persons of his years. . . .

"I again travelled on the Rail Road & was delighted with the ride.¹¹ We went at about the rate of 12 miles an hour. Mr. Thomas¹² the President of the Company stated that there had been a Steam Car on the Road a few days before in which he travelled at the rate of 20 miles an hour—and that there would be in a few days some that would regularly ply to Ellicotts. I saw another set of automata of Mailzel the famous German mechanic & was highly gratified at the spectacle. The exhibition to which I particularly refer was that of the circus of automaton men & horses, the others I had seen before—Then men & horses performed all the feats & evolutions of real men & horses in the Circus. While at Washington I made a trip up the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal as far as the great Falls. This Canal appears to be much inferior in its workmanship and materials to either of the Canals I have seen and greatly larger than the N. York Canal. The Boat for Passengers was drawn at about the rate of 4 miles an hour when not impeded by locks which is little more than half the speed of such Boats on the Delaware Canal. Two or three horses (I forget which) only were used on the Ohio Canal.

"I remarked that the locks were filled in part if not in the whole by chambers thro the mason-work under & at the sides of the lock which were opened by use of machinery on the top of the lock. The great advantage of this plan (which I understand is also used on the New York Canal) is that the Boat is lifted up & lowered without those sudden motions & jerks that always take place when the water is admitted from

¹⁰ Burke played Romeo in the first performance of the evening and "My Lord Duke" in the farce, "High Life Below Stairs," which concluded the night's entertainment. See *Baltimore Republican*, May 17, 1831, p. 2, col. 6.

¹¹ As the "York," first locomotive in regular service, was not used until June, 1831, the car in which Randall rode may have been pulled by the "Tom Thumb."

¹² Philip E. Thomas, first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

a high point are apt to do serious injury to the small and frail boats deeply loaded with heavy Cargoes which navigate the Ohio Canal. On the Delaware Canal there is no necessity for this caution because all the Boats which pass thro' that are strong & such as navigate the Bays it unites except the Passenger Boats & these are not likely to be injured by this motion. I heard it said that the admission and discharge of the water thro' the end of the lock as on the Delaware Canal was the more expeditious tho' from my recollection I came to a different conclusion.

"The Mason work of this Canal is admirable. Seldom did you see any water going thro' it & then it seemed but the drops which oozed into it when the water was high & dripped back when the Lock was empty whereas on the Delaware Canal there were constant streams running thro' as if from the feeder of the Lock & on that in N. York these streams were often as thick as a man's wrist. The Scenery on the Potomac is often beautiful & sometimes sublime at least to those who have not run the North River. You see I make novelty to be a constituent part of the Sublime. I was rather disappointed in the Sight of the Great Falls. I expected to see a great uninterrupted fall of water whereas three falls are broken into ten or fifteen minor falls. I should estimate the fall of water from the highest visible point of these Falls to the lowest equal to ninety or 100 feet and divided into six or ten falls. The whole appearance of the River rushing down these rocks cannot however be tamely viewed by any spectator. The immense clouds of spray, the sounds [?] distinct falls produced distinct resounds [?], the eddying of the waters dashing themselves on every side (rushing on as if to) and []¹³ down with great velocity every thing that dared oppose its progress, contrasted with the stability solidity and hight [*sic*] of the surrounding masses of rock which seemed in surly silence to disregard [?] all the raging of the Waters & like an implacable janitor to retain them in their appointed place & the men fishing on these rocks whose puny bodies seemed safe only because objects not worthy the remonstrance [?] of the angry flood. The []¹⁴ & others accompanying found a *tout ensemble* highly gratifying & well worth the labor & difficulty of the sight.

"The Boat in which we ascended the Canal is the First Boat for Passengers that ever navigated it. It is built pretty much after the plan of the Delaware Canal Boats tho' not so large or commodious. No doubt those which shall hereafter be built will be more suitable & convenient as the Canal is sufficiently large to admit them of the largest size of Canal Boats."

Franklin Papers—The organization responsible for the editing of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University has been completed. Professor Leonard W. Labaree, Farnam Professor of History at Yale, editor of the project, has

¹³ One word not deciphered.

¹⁴ One word not deciphered.

taken up his duties on July 1, working in New Haven. The assistant editor will be Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Research Associate Professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania, who is carrying on his duties at Philadelphia in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

An appeal to libraries, collectors, and other individuals possessing any letters by or to Benjamin Franklin or other manuscript material by the great Philadelphian has been made by the sponsors of the project. Such owners are invited to cooperate with this undertaking by informing the editor of their holdings and making them available for photographic reproduction and ultimate inclusion in the edition. Communications regarding Franklin manuscripts should be addressed to Professor Labaree at Yale University Library, Room 230, New Haven, Connecticut. He will arrange for photographing of all such materials and full acknowledgments of ownership will be made as the materials are printed. Both the American Philosophical Society and Yale University will continue to be interested in adding to their collections of Frankliniana, by gift or purchase, as before. During the life of the editorial project the original papers held by the repositories will remain available for general scholarly use on the same basis as in the past.

The editors are being advised by a committee of four experts in American Colonial history: Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale; Lyman H. Butterfield of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg; I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard; Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania; and Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence.

Mount Clare—We are pleased to call attention to the reference to and illustrations of this house in H. D. Eberlein and C. V. Hubbard, *American Georgian Architecture* (Bloomington, 1952), p. 35 and plates 43, 44. (See article on "Hayes" in our June, 1954, issue, p. 92.)

Harding—Wish names of heirs of Wm. Harding who m. Rachel Lamar in Prince George's Parish, Montgomery Co., 3-22-1784. Where did he and his wife die? Did he leave a will?

Mrs. E. B. FEDERA

1224 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky.

Ryal—Request information about Ryal family of Baltimore, especially parentage of following (sisters?): 1) Martha Ryal, m. Nathan Joyce, Balto., m. lic. dated 12-6-1798. She d. June or Aug., 1831. 2) Sarah Ryal (?), m. Wm. Hayes of Barnesville, m. lic. in Anne Arundel Co.

3-27-1780 giving name *Ryan* believed incorrect. Since before 1820 Martha Joyce resided with Sarah Hayes family in Balto. and both included in same Bible record. Sarah d. 5-12-1837.

R. C. SMITH

487 Union Ave., Laconia, N. H.

Sewell—Would like information on Samuel Sewell, son of Henry and Mary (Marriott) Sewell. His parents settled on Severn R. and he inherited Duvall's Delight, Sewell's Fancy, Howard's and Porter's Ranges. His father d. ca. 1722.

W. L. SEWELL

152 Peruvian Ave., Palm Beach, Fla.

Snow-Abell-Spalding—Need data from private or professional sources regarding English origin, background, or antecedents of following settlers: Justinian Snow, d. 3-21-1639, father of Susannah who m. Thomas Gerard. Capt. Robert Abell, b. ca. 1620, from England, settled in St. Mary's Co. Thomas Spalding, d. 1659, St. Mary's Co., from England in 1634-5.

EDGAR PETERSON

485 Madison Ave., New York 22.

Walters—Need information about any Bennett Walters marriage prior to 1780.

Mrs. KENNETH A. BOURNE

337 Tunbridge Rd., Baltimore 12.

CONTRIBUTORS

Long interested in the history of Annapolis, Mrs. FRANCIS F. BEIRNE has recently contributed articles on William Buckland and Gov. Robert Eden. ☆ Dr. GORDON, also a previous contributor, has written an essay on the life of his grandfather's first cousin and edited his Diary for publication. ☆ Mr. HUNTER is Director of the Peale Museum and a student of Baltimore history. ☆ Mrs. PEABODY continues in this issue the editing of the letters of her ancestor, Governor Lee.